"THE BROXTOWE CASE"

AN ACCOUNT OF A LARGE RITUALISTIC ABUSE CASE

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Chapter One: Introduction

This is an account, initially commissioned by the Director of Social Services, though we now gather that he regards it as being jointly commissioned by the Chief Constable. The purpose is to provide Team 4 with a formal mechanism to respond to the Joint Enquiry Team's first and second reports of December 1989 and June 1990.
The Manner of Writing the Report

It was agreed that Leawood Elderly Persons Home would make their bungalow available for Team 4 to work on the material from the Joint Enquiry Team Report and then produce a response. We are grateful to the Officer in Charge, staff and residents for their support and help, and acknowledge that we must have been a disruption, though this was never expressed to us.

We do feel that some Departmental token of appreciation ought to be considered in the light of this.

It was agreed that [redacted] would be released from their current duties for four weeks and that other staff would be available as required.
The response has been constructed through:

1. All Team members reading and responding to the JET material, and a second working document.

2. Social workers being interviewed.

3. Foster parents being interviewed.

4. Source files and diaries being re-read.

5. Interviews with those outside Team 4 who were available.
We should like to thank those people who have supported us and made time to contribute to this response and hope the Department will recognise this formally by writing to them to thank them and informing them of the process in the future when that is known.

The Form of the Report

The report will be written in a way that is suitable for sharing outside the Department and thus names have been removed. There is material which needs to have confidential facts included for a greater understanding and these will be in a separate appendix. We feel this allows the Director more flexibility when he decides what his response will be, and whether anyone should read it beyond the original group who read the JET report. It is our expectation that anyone who has officially had access to the JET report will read this report.

There is material in this document which has been included for the greater understanding of the reader. This has been written during the past year in workers' own time and is being prepared for publication as a book on Working with Sexual Abuse. When this is the case the material is identified and is copyright to the authors and must not be reproduced or copied without permission and acknowledgement.

It would be unfortunate if this reactive document were to be the only testament to our work and the children's survival. For that reason, it is our intention to use this response as a staging post towards producing a proper account of this story. This has always been our intention, and remains firmly so, particularly in the light of the JET report.
For convenience the generic term Team 4 covers the following people; The Joint Enquiry Team is referred to as JET.

It will be no surprise to anyone who has followed the Broxtowe case that our response is essentially a critique of the JET's work. Given that their report has already been accepted, it may be hard for the recipients to read this document and reconsider that decision. Nevertheless we believe that it is important for all those genuinely concerned with the protection of children to read this account. In our view it is important to at least consider our point of view, though we recognise that previous accounts, without the balance of our experience will make a change of view challenging.

Historically, Local Authority social workers become inured to a negative press, political, client, and community criticism. As individuals who operate under Local Authority conditions of working, and within a hierarchical system, they have little opportunity to respond. It is our view that this is a position that must be challenged in relation to the subject of sexual abuse. Children who are abused live in environments where their very vulnerability is attractive to the perpetrator, who enhances his power through the abuse itself, often through intimidation and threats. Until very recently he could also rely on the fact that children have struggled to be believed, and that even if they were, the legal constraints and society's ambivalence ensures him/her some protection. Team 4 have taken very seriously their statutory duty to protect children from abuse. This statutory duty is often all that an abused child will have to advocate for his or her safety. That is why Nottinghamshire was a pioneer with this
case - it allowed professionals to be the advocates for these children, abused in a way we did not understand, nor had met before. The children had the strength and persistence to tell us what had happened to them, but they needed adults to protect them and find ways of reconstructing their damaged lives.
Chapter Two:

This response will illustrate how the fundamentally flawed JET report was based on inaccuracies, selective omissions and sweeping judgements. In order for our critique to be fully understood we feel that it is important to give the reader a sense of what actually happened during the progress of this case based on a factually accurate account, from Team 4's perspective. We will then go on to give an account of the most striking omission in this case - the history and context of the breakdown of the relationship with the Police.

History of the Case

In retrospect the multidisciplinary work with the T. family exemplifies the mistakes and naivety inherent in most Child Protection Work of the early 1970's. The indicators, which are now obvious, were missed, as assessments were done without the necessary knowledge and awareness of sexual abuse which professionals have developed over the last ten years.
Those children with verbal skills started within days to disclose allegations of gross sexual abuse by people within the family and by others. The children also exhibited a high degree of fear felt to be unusual despite their recent trauma of reception into care.

The little boys previously in care had talked about monsters and "the master." They had excessive fears which were attributed to the gross abuse they had suffered. The strange references in their descriptions eg "snakes up bottoms" was initially interpreted as buggery. However we were struck by the similarities of the children's disclosures as some other children who were later received into care also spoke about people dressing up and a "big master." Great care was taken
to prevent the children having contact with each other outside the sibling groups in which they were placed, in order to prevent contamination of any disclosures. At this stage we were only anticipating disclosures of sexual abuse and were unprepared for the other things the children said.

By February 1988 we realised that the children were clearly describing traumas over and above those usually associated with sexual abuse, many of which seemed unbelievable. We knew it would be a difficult task to prove the abuse of so many children (the numbers had now increased to 18 through births and others brought into care for neglect), without the complication of bizarre disclosures. However, it was important to submit all the information we had to the Courts and the Police and not to take the decision ourselves that the material was unbelievable and therefore unacceptable.

Amidst the disclosures of sexual abuse the following themes emerged:

1. Children talked of being burnt with sticks, and being penetrated with sticks.

2. They showed an intense fear of insects, particularly spiders and talked of being made to eat live spiders.

3. Long dangerous fingernails were a common disclosure and children would draw pictures of dangerous fingers.

4. Blood was a frequent theme and children talked about being made to drink blood and having blood painted on their bodies.

5. They spoke of parties where people dressed up as witches, monsters, clowns and animals.

6. Children described being shut in cupboards and boxes,
sometimes insects and snakes were put in with them.

7. A child described being placed on a table at a ceremony and having her stomach cut open. Other children and adults independently corroborated this scene.

8. Many of the children were afraid of Father Christmas and talked of a "Naughty Santa" who hurt them.

9. Some children talked about being buried up to their necks in a hole in the ground and then later being dug up again.

10. When passing a church, small children said "Bad Church, bad Church."

11. The children, talked of animals being killed and the blood being drunk.

12. Power was a common theme of the children's disclosures and play. They believed they could obtain special powers through being splashed with water or by going through the fire.

13. In the early months children talked about babies being brought to the parties and being placed on the floor in the centre of the circle. The children describe the babies being injured and then being taken away.

14. The children describe paint being used on theirs and adults' faces, bodies and genitalia.

15. Drugs, children talk about being injected with needles, being given orange and red liquid and being given tablets which makes them feel strange. They describe this feeling as being able to see what is happening but not being able to respond.
These disclosures came prior to us seeking consultation with anyone who had information about occult groups, a fact that is easily verified by the children's diaries which have been re-checked following our access to the JET report. Our detailed analysis of the diaries is included in Appendix 1.

Once the children felt secure and access was stopped they continued to disclose, and a picture of torture and murders too awful to believe emerged, which foster carers and workers struggled to comprehend. The children were between two and ten years old and talked independently of similar events.

Social workers in Team 4 devoted large amounts of time in seeking explanations for what the children were describing. The influence of videos, childhood nightmares, symbolic language, emotional and material deprivation were all considered and rejected because they would not explain the personal knowledge that the children possessed about the events they described. Examples of this are:

1. "After they'd cut me at the parties it hurt me when we went over bumps in the car on the journey home."

2. "I didn't like drinking blood, it was warm, oily and made me sick."

3. "I didn't like eating pooh at the parties it tasted horrible."

4. "We had to chant at the parties Domi Die Domi Die"

5. "They had a special cloth on the table, it was purple and had things sewn on it."

6. "When they give you tablets at the parties it makes you feel strange, you can see what is happening but you can't do anything."
By this time the difficulties with the Police were emerging and Team 4 undertook the first of the reviews of their work which they have conducted themselves to see whether there was any other more rational explanation for the disclosures. They had already in November 1988 been accused at a meeting at Radford Road Police Station by Senior Officers of abusing the children by 'creating' these disclosures and so the necessity for a review was obvious. The Principal Professional Officer Child Protection asked them to undertake this.

The conclusions of both at that time was that there were no grounds for this assertion, which was not only offensive but ridiculous when faced with the source material. However other explanations were considered such as the influence of video and the effect of trickery and drugs. They remained open minded about how much these influence the children's accounts but were left with outstanding questions.

1. Did it matter, how much had actually happened as the children described, when they had been so terrorised that they believed it had. Was this not still abuse?

2. How would children describe in such detail with an accompanying emotional reaction if they had not experienced them or something meant to appear that way. There was, and is, no research describing the affect of exposure to videos on children to the extent that they believe that they have been a part of the story enacted in the video.

Social work efforts, therefore, were being put into helping children overcome their fears eg (writing poems and stories specially for them) (Appendix 2) express their anger, catch up academically and be prepared for reparenting. It is no exaggeration to say that their whole life and experience needed reconstructing.
Historical Context of Working with the Police

It will be useful to be reminded of the concerns raised by Officers during the Broxtowe Enquiry.

a.  

b. The inability of Social Services Officers to pass on information requiring investigation of suspected child abuse with a confidence that it would be investigated thoroughly. (cf Cleveland crisis where Social Services and medical staff lost confidence in the Police who refused to investigate suspicions of child abuse raised through interventions unfamiliar to the Police).

c. Lack of confidence in some Police Officers' understanding of and ability to communicate with very young, abused children.

d.  

e. The Police's belief that they should lead and manage the enquiry.

In Cleveland some of the difficulties clearly identified by the assessors were:

The real difficulties of working together; how this is compounded when one organisation does not believe that such abuse exists; and then goes further and mistrusts the methods of those who do accept that it happens; the difficulty for large hierarchical organisations in confronting, managing, and resolving conflict.
It is fair to draw parallels here, with the Notts situation. We have included the Chapter on the Police from the Cleveland Report in the Appendix. We draw attention particularly to the attitudes expressed about Social Services personnel, the commitment to joint working and the final paragraph where the assessors say:

"We are by no means convinced that the implications(...of joint working) are understood or accepted by the Force....in particular that the question of prosecution is only one of a number of matters to be faced and that the protection and welfare of the child are important elements in the overall considerations. It appears to us that it was the crisis of 1987 that forced the Police somewhat reactantly into a multi-disciplinary stance."

Chap. 6. Cleveland Report. (full chapter in Appendix 3)

**Historical Context**

In May 1987 the PPO Child Protection was given the specific brief of developing an agency response to child sexual abuse to exist within a multidisciplinary framework. This was to be established through detailed work on joint investigations with any agreements to be brought back to the individual agencies for approval, and further ratified by the ARC.

[In the document, there is a name redacted where a copy of the sexual abuse procedures, developed through this process, was signed by a person and Social Services were told that a force order was sent out by the Police, detailing the arrangements for joint work. The procedures were also discussed and approved by The then Head of C.I.D. at a meeting with the Principal Assistant, Principal Solicitor and Principal Professional officer 'Child Protection. By this time, therefore social services officers on the Broxtowe case were assured of both agencies support in]
working jointly.

A significant feature of these negotiations was that Social Services Officers produced all the written work. The other feature obvious to Social Services Officers was the dearth of knowledge or expertise or proven interest in the issue of sexual abuse of children, on the part of the Police who were involved with discussions.

The procedures were accepted at the ARC in April 1988 having been circulated by Social Services, in their full form and to the Police in the form of a shorter force order in February.

Social Services and Sexual Abuse

In 1987 in Nottinghamshire individual workers were trying to come to terms with sexual abuse as a significant problem. There was some innovative and exciting work being attempted but this was being done without a framework and was consequently inconsistent. There were still examples of an uninformed approach, with children often only being protected when there was clear medical evidence. Sometimes children who made some sort of disclosure were being questioned by Police and Social Services, often independently in an interrogative way only to retract and be returned home.

Efforts were made by County Hall staff to give appropriate advice to individual workers and to support staff who were attempting to react appropriately to sexual abuse. As our knowledge and experience increased, so the expectations raised within our legal framework began to hit home, when this was applied to sexual abuse. The minutes of case conferences at
the time reflected this and memoranda were sent by PPO Child Protection with the Director's approval acknowledging the risk and expressing support to staff.

Working closely with Principal Personnel Officer Child Protection the Principal Professional Officer Child Protection tried to ensure that the training programmes properly reflected what was required by the procedures. The value of consistent advice, based on experience, theoretical framework and research was an important factor at this time. Nobody could be in any doubt as to what the philosophical base of the policy and training was and the risks for workers in confronting sexual abuse.

The Police and Sexual Abuse

The service offered by the Police to young children at this time was of concern as well,

"The early disclosure should establish the truth, if you have too many, they tell you what you want to hear" (McFarlane, Fahlberg and
others ... allow two years for the whole story). "Our officers are experienced with sexual abuse, social workers have only taken it on recently." "Our officers are skilled at finding the truth." "Our lady policewomen are more experienced at communicating with young children than your workers." (See Home Office circular69/... Cleveland report. Piggott report)

In 1987, then, workers were attempting to initiate work with sexually abused children. This mostly concerned assessments of whether children were likely to have been abused. In a sense, workers were handicapped in Nottingham, because despite
good academic traditions in developmental work with children, and in the care of sick children, as one would expect from a university town, there was no pioneering centre which was attempting to look at sexual abuse. Workers did not have the advantage of London Boroughs with Great Ormond Street or Leeds with Wynne and Hobbs, and were having to look outside for advice and training. By 1986 and 1987 and the inclusion of sexual abuse in the procedures, the only consistent work in sexual abuse being done was by Dr. Sandra Buck.
Into this atmosphere, the most complex sexual abuse case ever investigated, emerged. The police who had been kept informed through case conferences became engaged in a prevention of a breach of the peace role when the children were removed.

This fact is not mentioned in the Joint Enquiry Report despite great emphasis being placed on assessing the Social services early work. This is a clear example of bias.

However the next few months were a model of working together, and the children's disclosures validated the original assessment.

Social services broke with precedent and handed every piece of material over to the Police. As the children provided what was required for a prosecution there was total co-operation. Social workers, according to the expectations of the Department, noted everything that the children said, either to them or their foster parents and passed every piece of information to the Police. We were constrained at first by the Wardship proceedings, but supported the application to hand over information to the police and arrange for children to be interviewed.

At the next stage, as children's disclosures went beyond what the Police needed the atmosphere changed. This is important, because at that point, other issues, such as awareness of sexual abuse became important. Workers felt that children were only conditionally taken seriously when what they said was acceptable and understandable.

None of these issue were dealt with through the formal
mechanisms. When once it was taken to the ARC sub-group on Sexual Abuse, the debate was not taken further after strenuous complaints by the Police.

After gaining the agreement of her management put herself at the disposal of the Specialist Unit for several weeks. This close liaison proved very effective. The management of information gathering by [redacted] from the children, foster parents, old records, other professionals made the task of the Police most straightforward and their impact on the children minimal.

By June 1988 the extent of the protection and home finding work had been identified and an item was put to Committee asking for more resources. Between January and June the main preparation was done towards the wardship proceedings.

The issue which was arising for the Police was a real one, that of serial disclosures.

The issue is this: the expectation from research, therapy and experience is that children will tell more as they feel more safe. This has implications for a Police investigation, which is controlled by rules of evidence and PACE. This lies at the heart of our difficulties and has not been covered in
Cleveland or elsewhere. [Redacted] identified the problem and advised not writing down the information coming from the children after February - this of course is not possible for us and indeed would leave us open to criticism.

By the time of the Wardship Judgement in June we had formed the view as had [Redacted] and [Redacted] and the Judge, that these children had been ritualistically abused.

It was clear that [Redacted] was very concerned because in the spirit of working together, we were still handling over information. In response to his concerns, we engaged in a healthy scepticism which made us reassess and re-evaluate what was coming to us.

It was felt that the Police are much more careful about what they record formally and that our custom and practice is at odds here and exposes us.
The Wardship proceedings were successful in terms of child protection and the unexpected issue was the Appeal Court hearing which attracted publicity.
First Hucknall Meeting
we are still unaware of any action which may have been taken. This meeting ended with a commitment on our part to look at what he had said, to remain concerned about those issues raised and remain professional and work closely through the criminal proceedings particularly with the press and preparing the children.

Another review was undertaken by the Area after which [redacted] declared that he was satisfied and PPO Child Protection asked for a further analysis of the diaries. This is enclosed in the Appendix and clearly showed that the charge in relation to RW was without foundation. Please see Appendix[1.]

The Principal Professional Officer Child Protection was therefore satisfied that there were still some outstanding concerns which needed attention and these were shared in November 1988 with [redacted] Assistant Director, Children's Division.

Further meetings at Radford road which included the Head of C.I.D. and Assistant Director Children's Division. These confirmed the police's position that they were satisfied with the investigation and that nothing further would be investigated unless it was clearly new. As a result of this an
allegation of murder was referred, which was responded to three months later.

It was agreed that the Police needed to feedback their investigations. This eventually occurred at the 2nd Hucknall meeting of December 22nd, 1988.

On re-reading the notes of that meeting where [redacted] clearly expressed the view that the disclosures of ritualistic abuse were "created" by the social workers; that the foster parent group had played a part in contamination; as had RW; we are struck by it's similarities to the J.E.T. position. The Hucknall position was rejected by Senior managers in February 1989, when they asked [redacted] to prepare a report so that information would be available on which the Department could decide how to move forward.

This is the context in which the Joint Enquiry Team was set up. We cannot hold them responsible for this context, but we do hold them responsible for ignoring it, and further, emphasising Police officers criticisms of Social services.
Chapter Three: A Critique of the Joint Enquiry Teams Reports and 2.

The overall impression to those without a full background of the case must have been that the JET Report was a well researched, impressive and exhaustive report. Indeed senior managers within the Department described it as such when explaining the dramatic shift in position in January 1990.

We were told that the Director of Social Services was even considering sharing its substance more widely, in the genuine belief that a rational and acceptable reason for the children's disclosures had been found. Not only had some members of the Enquiry Team already shared this view within the Department, but Nottinghamshire staff were told by colleagues in Derbyshire that their Director had informed them that ritual abuse did not exist, in the knowledge that an explanation had been found and accepted by his colleague in Nottinghamshire. As a consequence Derbyshire social workers involved with ritualistically abused children were faced with considerable difficulties.

The eventual decision not to share the conclusions more widely is regarded by Team 4 as wise, [Blank]

It is our view that the Joint Enquiry Report's pretentions, to be independent, reflective and knowledge based, misrepresent
its contents and the attitudes underpinning them. We find it to be an unprecedented, unprofessional, vindictive and personalised attack on both the child-centred approach to working with sexually abused children and the workers who followed this approach, as expected by the Department.

This case concerned the protection of 23 children in the largest familial child abuse case ever.

When we received the Report, we were prepared to acknowledge that there would be much to learn from a well resourced focussed enquiry. There would obviously be interest in a more 'distanced' perspective, and of course there was always an acknowledgement that there would be mistakes.
on staff and their reputations, and the effect on work throughout the Department with sexually abused children.

We have documentary and verbal evidence that whether wittingly or not, the Joint Enquiry Team became a party to a trend of discrediting individuals and their styles of work, rather than investigating the case.

This has, we believe, led to the development of a dogmatic, fixed position, the very charge laid against members of Team 4. We are surprised that this did not raise questions in January, particularly as the reflection of this in the report led we believe, to an intellectually insulting piece of work, which did not allow the readers to form their own conclusions.

Membership of the Joint Enquiry Team

We cannot comment on the child protection experience of the Police personnel. The Social Services personnel were in our view ill prepared for the task. In fairness they were given terms of reference which were singularly unhelpful, irrelevant
and vague,

Terms of Reference:

The Joint Enquiry Team was set up, as far as we are aware, without any consultation within the Social Services Department with staff who had been involved with this complex issue for the previous two years. The terms of reference failed to address the real
The preferred Terms of Reference would have considered the infrastructure of the Police/Social Services relationship; the conflict between two separate Court processes; the breakdown of trust between staff in two agencies and an open examination of the phenomena. However we believe that the Terms of Reference reflected a view that this was merely a problem of personalities, who had only to be removed from the scene for the problem to disappear.

The fact is that regardless of personalities the issue remains of how two agencies, both charged with important statutory duties can work together to protect children when they are constrained by different legal processes, and a different body of experience. The effect of the stories of bizarre abuse which no-one would wish to believe, serve only to increase the tensions in this uneasy relationship.
The Conclusions of the JET Report

The report makes serious claims, not only about individual workers' practice but also about a well accepted approach to working with sexually abused children. Essentially they are asserting in the first report, though more cautiously 'hypothesising' in the second, that the therapeutic work undertaken with the children has created the disclosures of ritual abuse. For professional workers engaged in child protection this implies abuse of the children which in itself is a serious charge which would require a considerable amount of evidence to support it. It is a charge which was already made by the Police in November 1988 in the presence of Senior Managers, and dismissed then by them after receiving the first Broxtowe Report.

The arguments underpinning the position is:

1. That the early NSPCC therapy sessions with [REDACTED] drew out these sorts of disclosures.

2. That [REDACTED] had therapy from his social worker who was influenced by the NSPCC and an article by one of their workers.

3. That [REDACTED] had access to his cousins and thus spread the stories widely.

4. That [REDACTED] was disturbed and not enough account was taken of this evidence or the advice of psychologists sought.

5. That the work with [REDACTED] confirmed JET's worse fears of the ability of the therapeutic work to create disclosures.
6. That only four children in two homes actually disclosed witchcraft and that these have been misinterpreted and used selectively.

7. That members of staff in the Department became influenced by a consultant RW who was not entirely honourable in encouraging the perception of witchcraft in this case. Indeed the choice of experts was unfortunate and reinforced the fixed belief in satanic abuse.

8. That there is no empirical evidence of satanic abuse in the JET investigation.

9. That the adults are so unreliable, their corroboration of the children's stories is unaccepted.

10. There is no evidence of actual sacrifice and sexual abuse in satanism therefore there is no reason to suspect this case has anything to do with Satanism. There is no evidence of Satanism in the diaries.

11. That the foster parents unwittingly contaminated one another through their meetings.

12. That members of staff whether wittingly or not became parties to a fixed belief system which involved uncritically accepting and believing what children said literally. This led to a witch hunt which threatened the wellbeing of innocent families and would eventually lead the Department into disrepute. Over identification of abuse was implied.

This report will demonstrate that every one of these conclusions is based on inaccuracies of fact, false assumptions and bias. The major example of inaccuracies being the document marked "Children's Diary Disclosures" which considers the work with This contains 158
factual inaccuracies which are detailed in the Appendix to this report for readers to see for themselves. Other inaccuracies will also be highlighted.

These inaccuracies were then sustained by omissions, such as; interviews with the foster parents, an interview with an independent adult; the evidence of the other psychiatrists in the Wardship hearing, a Senior Police Officer's view that the Police interview was poor, leading and left much to be investigated.

Outstanding in its omissions were the difficulties with the Police.

These factors were underpinned by an apparent lack of understanding or empathy with abused children, which showed through in their descriptions, planning of interviews and their analysis and judgements of any material which came into their hands.

This response will show how these attitudes permeated throughout the JET report to the point where their fixed belief took hold. We will not deal with every false assumption or error, but look at general areas which have influenced the cornerstones of their argument:

1. That social workers were able to "create" disclosures.

   a. The NSPCC
JET imply strongly that the play therapy sessions at the NSPCC were influential in disclosing ritualistic abuse.

This position is based on the JET's analysis of therapeutic work with children. It uses the 'account' of the Joint Enquiry Team's visit to the NSPCC as evidence along with an article previously written by a former NSPCC worker encouraging social workers to work directly through play in the interests of communicating with sexually abused children. It is dismissive of the props and methods used at the NSPCC.

The JET's view of the article will not be commented upon, except to say that [REDACTED] is a recognised national figure in child abuse who publishes widely in academic journals. The Section on direct work with children should reveal the shortcomings of their assessments.

There are significant points to make:

1. The care taken by the workers at NSPCC and Team 4 not to 'contaminate' one another.

2. The lack of knowledge of ritualistic abuse of the NSPCC worker.

3. The therapy was supervised independently by a local psychotherapist and psychotherapists at the Tavistock Institute in London who had no contact with Team 4 and had no knowledge of any satanic indicators. They said that the children had in their
opinion "experienced evil beyond words" i.e. experienced, not fantasized.

4.

5.

b. **Work with**

The JET rightly highlight the work with as fundamental to this complex case. Unfortunately their analysis of it spilled over into areas outside their brief and experience and their conclusions are flawed. Here we set out the correct account of the Department's role.
There was no suspicion that the boys had suffered other than sexual abuse until early 1988.
It was also hoped that play sessions would provide a clearer picture of what had experienced. The sessions were all child centred and used play materials present in the playroom which, of course, was designed following consultation with Professor Elizabeth Newson.

Further play sessions were set up for and from February 1989 to help identify and prepare the boys for their future in an adoptive home.

The JET would appear to have misunderstood the central aims of the direct work with which were to help the Court and then to prepare the child for adoption. They were not designed to elicit information about ritualistic abuse or satanic practices.
The degree of inaccuracy in the JET report account of the work with [REDACTED] astounded us. 158 factual errors excluding the tape transcript on 24.11.87 have been identified and these are itemised in Appendix 4. We will confine ourselves to detailing particularly significant ones;

i The JET report speaks of [REDACTED] having a number of access visits to his home during March and April 1987 and thus having contact with his cousins who subsequently came into care on 19th October, 1987. Through this access it is implied that he passed on to his cousins details of witchcraft parties etc acquired in the play sessions [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

had no access visits to his family home [REDACTED] during this period or at any time from 1987 onwards.

The cousins [REDACTED] have never been subject to enquiries regarding sexual or ritualistic abuse nor made any allegations about these things.

ii JET states that [REDACTED] was involved in therapy involving materials such as witch costumes, monsters, spiders etc and these materials influenced his disclosures. During the early play sessions with [REDACTED] January to October 1987, prior to the admission to care of the other T. grandchildren, no materials of this nature were used with [REDACTED]

They were not in the social worker's possession. The materials at the Social Services playroom were those available to all children using that facility.

iii JET states that the first eight play sessions with [REDACTED]
were undertaken by the same team of social workers subsequently involved with as well as most of the other 'satellite' cases.

This is totally inaccurate,

iv. JET concludes that prolonged use of a tape recorder, videoing, and use of sexually explicit dolls particularly with very young children reinforces their system for inappropriate sexualisation.

This conclusion shows a complete lack of understanding of the use of these items.

v.

vi.
vii. JET say that the psychology of a disturbed three year old was not taken into account.

This is inaccurate, the co-worker who was allocated to work on the case was a clinical psychologist and social worker.
c. work with

It is important that this report details the reasons for and theory base informing the interventions with as this part of the report was we believe highly influential in persuading the original readers to accept the position. The JET have wrongly assumed the model of working was that used with all the children. undertook this work. Her qualifications are as follows.
History of Team 4's involvement with

On 21.11.88 South Area Office contacted the Team 4 senior suggesting that a member of Team 4 initiate some contact with M who had made recent disclosures to her teacher.
There followed eight further sessions with M approximately fortnightly. The content of these sessions is elaborated in Appendix.

Nature of the Work
Comment

It would seem that it is this confrontational approach that the JET were concerned about and presented out of context and without prior consultation with the workers, to Professor Newson. The workers have been criticised for asking leading questions when in reality they were asking follow up questions to information provided previously by [redacted]. The JET do not emphasise that sessions with [redacted] started in February 1989. [redacted] notes do not represent the work undertaken with [redacted] which spanned many months, was scrupulously planned and executed by knowledgeable workers who were well supervised throughout this difficult and emotionally challenging work.
Vera Fahlberg, a prominent American therapist and author of several books on working with children (published by BAAF) clearly stated her views on this dilemma at a national conference in London in June 1988. She stressed that social workers should not confuse the need for criminal evidence with a child's need for help. The timing and nature of social work interventions with children must always be guided by what is in the best interests of the child. In her opinion the system does not adequately help children and should not be a social worker's prime concern. This is an issue which we feel the Department should be considering with workers preparatory to engaging in a realistic dialogue with the Police.

Appendix 8 contains a detailed account of her work, a report prepared in August 1989 and a detailed response to JET case conference minutes.
The Epperstone interviews with.

We found the accounts of the Epperstone interviews with was inaccurate and biased as other material in the report.

The main points are these:

1. Team 4 disputes any delay in referring to the police.

2. The police were emphasising that this was a murder enquiry in October. stressed that this would mean that it would not be a joint enquiry. Team 4 readily agreed. Social workers, keen to co-operate, and to have something investigated would be foolish to
mount an argument about investigating a murder jointly. It is being used in other cases of ritual abuse. If a murder, or multi-perpetrator allegation is made, it can be argued that it is outside the procedures and a police investigation alone.

3. Social services stressed in writing, the vagueness and uncertainty of disclosures, and how difficult they were to believe. This is not referred to in the JET report.
d. The "Microwave Disclosure"

This is used by JET to substantiate their view that workers cross-contaminated each other and then created the disclosures of children.
Further, it was the JET Team that referred this matter to the Police.
We recently have received information from the Metropolitan Police which gives credence to these sort of unbelievable allegations and demonstrates their determined efforts to follow up such allegations seriously.
2. That the diaries have been used selectively and the number of children disclosing independently has been over emphasized.

The JET asserts that only four children in two foster homes spoke of all the extraordinary traumas which have prompted this whole process and that consequently we were selective in the deduction about the children’s experiences. We list below the children in the North West City Office, ones we know to have spoken about and indicated ritualistic abuse, along with their carers and brief comments.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Child</th>
<th>Carer</th>
<th>Comment</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Told by drawing, talking, behaviour, showing locations</td>
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<td>Told by drawing, talking, behaviour, showing locations</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Told by talking, some drawing, behaviour to Easter 89</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Told by talking, some drawing, behaviour to June 89</td>
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<tr>
<td>Same children</td>
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<td>Therapeutic help post Easter 89</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Strange behaviour,</td>
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- 57 -
Told by words, pictures, and factual information. Gave addresses and behaviour. Discredited by being contaminated by being told by behaviour and talking. Stated locations, talking, and behaviour.
First told social worker from Aspley Team, then foster parents. Discredited following Epperstone - seen as contaminated by living with

Explicit accounts and pictures and behaviour. Discredited as placed with

Clear accounts but again disbelieved as being with

Very bizarre behaviour.

Told by drawings, words, behaviour.
Ritualistic abuse accepted by Wardship Judge but not Police.

Told by disclosures and behaviour - not accepted by the Police.

We are aware of other children within this Authority who have tried to tell of similar abuse to the "Broxtowe Children."

We would also point out that to dismiss children's disclosures simply because they are cared for by a family who has fostered other children saying similar things is nonsensical. It denies to children and the Department carers who have developed skills in listening to children.

The charge of selectivity and that only four children in two foster homes talked of ritualistic abuse is totally without foundation.
3. That foster parents unwittingly were a source of contamination through each other at the Foster Parent Meetings and then with the children.

In our view the JET's work was impoverished by their failure to meet with and consider the opinions of the foster carers.

These families knew the children better than anyone else and it is they who frequently shared first hand the children's accounts of their experiences.

We can find no explanation in the JET report for this omission which is perplexing, particularly as the Courts are increasingly seeking foster carers' opinions and welcoming their evidence in Child Care and Wardship hearings.

Justice Booth placed great importance on the foster carers' testimonies as did Judge Morrison in a very recent hearing concerning two other children from the Broxtowe children's extended family.

In order to rectify the JET omission, we are including here transcripts of interviews with the foster carers, presented without comment as we feel they speak for themselves.

We are also setting out the facts regarding the foster mothers support meetings which demonstrate that the JET allegations that these were a source of contamination are unfounded.

Interview with [REDACTED]
Date: 13.7.90
**Foster Parent Meetings**

The foster parents caring for the T's grandchildren met together weekly with the senior social worker. The aims of these sessions were to support the foster parents in their role of helping children whose behaviour was very difficult and for the foster parents to pass directly to the senior worker any allegations or indications of sexual abuse with regard to the preparation of the case for the Wardship Court.

It should be noted that this Department has always advocated and supported its foster carers meeting together to share knowledge and to gain support. The only difference regarding the meetings so criticised by the JET was that the participants were caring for one large extended family, split between them in sibling groups.
At the early sessions, provided some input and training on child centred work - listening to children and being able to talk comfortably about sexual matters and abuse. The material used was that commonly employed in foster parent training courses throughout the Authority and nationally for carers of sexually abused children.

As the sessions progressed, foster parents were reporting the strange behaviour and statements being made by the children in their care. On occasions there was uniformity between the children in what they said, at other times only one or two children recalled the same event in the same way.

There was a general incomprehension at the meetings about what the children were depicting in their drawings and accounts of home and this was gradually replaced by an understanding that the children had been involved in ritualistic abuse. The amount of information, its nature and the details provided by the children were impossible to dismiss.
Recently, Mr. Judge Morrison, like Justice Booth, praised a foster carer for the natural way she helped children share their experiences. He found allegations that she had lead the children into making up stories of bizarre and ritual abuse "ludicrous" (judgement attached in Appendix 9)

The JET failed to seek the views of all who fostered the children in this case, We feel this is a gross omission from the JET investigation and report
4. That the choice of Experts was unfortunate

One of the underlying themes of the Joint Enquiry Report was that experts had been chosen who were already involved with the belief system and therefore likely to reinforce rather than challenge Team 4's view. Indeed this is translated into a recommendation that the choice of experts was unfortunate and that care must be taken in the future.

It is true that the choice of experts is crucial to providing a full assessment of the situation. One of the criticisms of the Jasmine Beckford report was that no expert help was sought to consider Jasmine's home situation. The translation of this simple commonsense into practice, particularly after Cleveland, is becoming much more complex. Expert witnesses are now a feature of nearly every sexual abuse trial or protection proceedings. For every expert that the Authority chooses, the defendant or family will be able to find someone else, to provide an opposing view. Members of Team 4 themselves have already been approached to be expert witnesses in other ritual abuse cases in the U.K. and have so far been able to refuse.

It has long been felt by the P.P.O. Child Protection, that there needs to be a co-ordinated view of the use of
experts in Nottinghamshire. Not only are areas spending money on expertise which is often available in the Authority, but often use people with whom other areas have had a bad experience.

In respect of the JET report, our contention is that their view of the use of experts is inaccurate. Firstly it appears to be based on the same premise that knowledge from someone who knows something which you do not, is somehow wrong, and contaminating. It also, for them, seems to signal weakness in that there is an assumption that Team 4 are gullible and will be taken in by "self appointed" experts. This really is completely nonsensical and taken to its logical conclusion would mean withholding the works of Kempe from a newly qualified social worker, or not pointing out the significance of a torn frenulum, or 'frozen watchfulness'. The sense that this will lead workers to intrude further into innocent family life is based on a conservative and paternalistic approach to knowledge.

We are interested that our consultations with (psychiatrist working with torture victims), and (none of
whom were known for their work with ritual abuse but who are renowned in the child care field) were not mentioned.

JET say, sweepingly, that all the experts are discredited. We can find no evidence of this in their account of the interview with Dr. [redacted] whose system of validating children's statements was found to be so helpful by the Wardship Judge.

There is also a record on file of an account of the differing views and approaches to treatment of [redacted] and [redacted]. The charge that experts with different views and experiences were not approached is therefore without foundation.
is criticized for being vague. No account is taken of the confidential relationship in which a Clergyman is operating. Neither do we know how the enquiry team presented themselves to him.

His reputation speaks for itself— he is the Bishop's advisor on the occult,
There are clear inaccuracies in JET's statements re RW. RW did not meet [redacted] to discuss ritual abuse in September 1987, neither was it discussed at the meeting which [redacted] attended. A note of that meeting taken at the time by [redacted] showed no mention of Satanism. RW did not hand around the satanic indicators, a fact which is confirmed by the foster parents and social workers, [redacted]. The "Munkel" indicators were in any case given to [redacted] in Autumn 1988, as dated copy shows.

The other indicators, were given [redacted] in February 1988 and were lost immediately, [redacted]. Many of the social workers have never seen these indicators, as some did not even read the first Broxtowe report, in an effort to control contamination.

To say RW and the Munkel indicators were influential, therefore is inaccurate and is not borne out by fact as the interviews with social workers and foster parents demonstrate.

The JET implies collusion between Mr. RW and the Cook Report, in "planting a case in Nottingham" for the programme to use. This ignores the involvement of senior management in negotiating involvement in TV programmes.
and ignores the evidence that [redacted] was only engaged as a consultant on the programme in Spring 1989, eighteen months after the children were brought into care. We are surprised that this implication is included in the Jet Report as they knew it was inaccurate.

Criticism can be levelled at the choice of JET's experts, individuals

Professor Newson was recommended,

He is indeed a well known local academic whose work principally has been on the developmental stages of a child's life.

Their work on play directly influenced the style and contents of the Social Services and NSPCC play room.

A search of his publications, included in the Appendix 24 reveals no
published experience of working with sexually abused children.
1. The 'witch hunt theory' - the JET expressed throughout the report that social workers and the Department were in danger of taking part in a witch hunt resulting in innocent families and children being hurt. Comparisons with Salem and witch trials of the Inquisition were sighted. Clearly for those of us brought up in the aftermath of the McCarthy hearings this would be very serious to contemplate. In Team 4 we found the argument sensational, and one which bore little relationship to what actually happened. [REDACTED] was able to help us respond. The witch hunt argument was completely flawed, she said, because it was only ever carried out on behalf of the establishment and established opinion. In the current situation Team 4 are undertaking exactly the opposite. There is currently no established acceptance, of the power of the devil, the workers themselves have no religious framework and in any case in the 90's there is an acceptance that alternative religions or atheism is an acceptable way of life. Social workers who are confronted with this and do not choose to ignore it, will not in any way be supported by established opinion. The charge of a witch hunt and comparison drawn as they are in the JET report are therefore without foundation. Had all the social workers and all the foster parents been evangelical fundamentalists then the charge might have warranted more obvious attention.
5. That social workers had a Fixed Belief System and a Moral Imperative to Believe, uncritically, what Children say.

One of the charges which underpins the JET report is that social workers have uncritically believed the children and accepted literally what they say. Clearly this could not be so as we would have to accept the children's statements that they had been murdered. For those experienced in dealing with ritualistically abused people these kinds of disclosures are not unfamiliar.

The issue however is a red herring, and an indication we feel of the JET's lack of empathy and understanding of sexually abused children. Members of the team have never said that children never lie. Obviously as parents this would not stand up in our daily lives. Clearly children lie, as do adults. But it is a common tactic of defence lawyers and the anti sexual abuse lobby to ascribe this extravagant statement to social workers or advocates of abused children. Research shows as detailed in the Therapy/Evidence section that children have difficulty
lying about what they have not experienced.

Suspension of Disbelief

Clearly this is misunderstood by the Enquiry, who criticize members of Team 4 for using this analogy to describe the response that ritual abuse survivors need. This is a term used in Dramatic Criticism to describe the process which enables the audience to watch and not disbelieve the presence on the stage. It does not mean that the audience really believes that the man on the stage is Hamlet - it means that for three hours the audience is prepared not to disbelieve that he is so. Similarly with ritual abuse, the worker needs to put aside their preconceptions and experience and be prepared to 'not disbelieve' what is said. This does not mean 'believe' neither does it mean that workers believe in witches and demons that the child may believe in. It also means being prepared to admit that others believe in witches and spirits, as others believe in God. We are very concerned that neither the Enquiry Team nor appeared to understand the sophistication of this argument. There is a sense throughout the report that workers actually believe in the power of an evil force or had an evangelical influence. There is no evidence of this in any documentation or public statements. Obviously if this had been discussed by JET with Team 4 this could have
been clarified.

6. That this "moral Imperative led and would lead to an over identification of abuse"

There has been a long running theme throughout this report which identifies the alleged abuse uncovered in Day Centres in the United States as supporting evidence of a right wing backlash promulgated by evangelical fundamentalists who are concerned that raising the awareness of sexual abuse has threatened the family unit. We have chosen to discard the hypothesis about fundamentalists as irrelevant to the Broxtowe case which was characterised by a particularly secular approach, to a subject which does attract the attention of evangelical Christians.

The argument then goes on that in papers concerning the investigation of abuse in day care centres, the point is often made that everyone at the institution is a potential perpetrator until proved otherwise. JET regard this as dangerous and see signs of this in work which followed the Broxtowe case. Though the cases they site are grossly inaccurate in themselves, it is valid to look at the question which is raised. It is indeed important before accepting this argument to analyse exactly what it is saying, as superficially it seems a rather dramatic and sweeping statement. It would naturally cause anxiety to anyone who is innocently carrying out their daily lives to think that on the word of possibly a fantasising or easily led child several respectable members of an institution could be under suspicion. It is clearly a position which should not be accepted without analysis.

The issue of how we approach abuse outside the family is once again a matter of public concern. In years gone by stranger abuse was emphasised, then family abuse, and now
a combination of the two. Those of us with families of our own entrust our children to youth club leaders, scout masters, guide captains, schoolteachers and day care staff in the hope that they will be safe. More often than not they are but it is our view that the argument promoted in the Jet report actually reveals an ignorance and denial of the special characteristics of organised sexual abuse of children, particularly in institutions, paedophile, or ritual rings.

In the first report the acknowledgement of the existence of paedophile rings does not appear. It is only in the second report, six months later and perhaps influenced by the outrage about its dogmatic conclusions, that the possible existence of paedophile rings is acknowledged.
Attention is also drawn to the paper at the same conference presented in December 1989, by Chief Supt. Roger Caspar, who investigated a large paedophile ring in Brent, where he states

"We have to acknowledge that paedophile offences are grossly under reported. In 1986 the indecent assault conviction on males in the Metropolitan area was 211 and buggery was 83. The offences in which one man was charged in the Kilbourn/Brent case numbered 297 alone, so that he was charged with more offences individually than had been convictions in the whole of the Metropolitan area. The Brent case was a paedophile ring which involved 643 concrete allegations. It erupted following one allegation from a ten year old and led to prosecutions of 15 people. There were other people thought to be involved but these were never taken further. This was a highly organised expert ring. It was not random, it was well organised and planned and children were carefully targeted. The main problem at the beginning was lack of corroboration. All we had were allegations and denials. My view, based on the experience in this case is that traditional Police responses in relation to other criminal offences were not adequate. Our first attempt therefore to follow up the enquiries arising from the ten year old resulted in nothing. I was fortunate however in being surrounded by a team of Police Officers and social workers who had worked closely together already. We therefore decided that what the child was saying was very probably true and that we needed to look at another kind of investigation."
Reactive investigations to organised sex abuse will fail. There is no doubt about that. The traditional Police way does not work because paedophiles will be very experienced and know that all they need to do is deny it. It has to be a proactive investigation. The risk of course is that whilst you are waiting, researching and intervening at the right stage, children may well be abused. However that this is a risk we are now prepared to take. These are organised criminals in the same way as professional armed robbers and this is the sort of investigation that is needed. The main thing to remember is to trust no-one who has been identified in the ring, or surrounding it, until proved otherwise."

No-one is saying that institutions, day care, schools, boarding schools, clubs are hives of paedophile activity. What has been shown on the basis of evidence is that we must not close our minds to the fact that these places have indeed been targeted even on our own doorstep by paedophiles who are interested only in the abuse and exploitation of as many children as they come in contact with. For ritual abuse investigations, involving multiple perpetrators, and victims, not to draw on this experience is naive, and in deed dangerous as it can leave children at risk.
7. That there is no Empirical Evidence of Ritual Abuse in the Broxtowe Case

Note on different standards of proof of this issue

We feel our response would benefit from some discussion of this.

We found the Joint Enquiry Report most unhelpful in this matter which is acknowledged by both Police and Social Services nationally as being difficult and complex. It is no help, as JET have done, to ignore this issue, and operate on the basis of the criminal law, which quite rightly, requires the highest standard of proof.

Lord Justice Purchas in the Court of Appeal (18th December 1987) commenting on the standards of proof operating in Wardship Cases concerning the suspected sexual abuse of a child brought, by a Local Authority said:

"It is clear that the Judge is acting on a standard of proof which is less than balance of probability and which he describes as a real possibility......in my judgement the correct test".

It is our view, that the wrong standards of proof have
been applied by JET in their assessments of the local, national and international evidence, in relation to sexual abuse in whatever context including ritualistic.

A. **Factual Investigations**

The reason these are important is that JET use these to prove the statement that there is no empirical evidence of ritual abuse. Leaving aside the issue of their understanding of proof we intend to consider some of their investigations in detail.

Our position, when responding to the Joint Enquiry Team's factual investigations, is exactly the same as following the unilateral enquiry **[REDACTED]**, i.e., we have little on which to make an informed opinion regarding their conclusions. This is because we were not a party to investigations; had neither discussions nor feedback so that a joint understanding of what the children said was achieved.

We are being asked again to trust that the investigations were thorough, yet they were based on terms of reference and expectations that are fundamentally unsound. We are left therefore with a substantial amount of what the children said still unexplained.

Our outstanding concerns, in relation to the factual investigation, which do not receive answers in the report are:

1. **The Tunnels** - children have, it is agreed, talked about being taken to be abused in tunnels. The two main locations are Wollaton Park and St. Andrew's Cemetery. If we refer to the Statement Validity Analysis, currently adopted by the West Yorkshire Police and under consideration in Nottinghamshire,
we are advised that in order to assess the credibility of child witnesses, even those who relate stories which are difficult to believe, we should look for an internal and contextual logic in what they say. Using this model, let us consider the Tunnels.

Firstly, groups which are concerned with illegal activity would presumably be attracted to locations where their activities would not be normally seen ie Tunnels.

Secondly, we have ample verbal evidence from adult survivors that satanic groups are attracted to underground places because of their proximity to the 'underworld Hades'. The investigator does not have to believe in an underworld to accept that some people might, just as others would believe in a Heaven, and like Buzz Aldrin feel nearer to God in space. There is therefore a logic in the image used, rather than saying they were abused on mountains, for example. Obviously if there is no concrete evidence of tunnels and there is no evidence that the ideas have been put into children's heads, there is a real problem in understanding, which requires attention. Clearly if the children lived at the seaside in North Wales or in the middle of the Californian Desert and talked about tunnels, which are not there, we would have to seek other explanations.

However, if we take Wollaton Hall, for example, we do find underground places, not as we originally understood, but there, nevertheless. There is considerable information about the tunnels, passages and caves around Wollaton Hall and we presume that
in the five months of their investigation the Joint Enquiry Team have been able to research far more than ourselves. The original plans to the house drawn up in 1588 show no secret passages, but in the 19th Century, there were significant alterations. In the early 1800's the servants' quarters which were underground for obvious reasons, were added to. Maps of these alterations are in the Paul Mellon Collection in New York. A recent academic row in the Times literary supplement makes reference to an underground passage, as does a 1988 City Council minute. The Times literary supplement article, talks of a passage going under the salon and leading into the back garden, around the doors which one of the adults identified to two members of Team 4. The fact is, we have to say that we do not know whether this exists, as clearly the Joint Enquiry Team do not either, as they do not mention it. However there are confirmed underground places in which up to 20 people could gather, such as around the Admiral's bath, which has a pool. The questions appear to be:

How would the children know about this and associate it with abuse if they had not been abused there.

How would anyone get in illegally unless admitted by an involved person in the possession of a key, as independent children consistently say, and an adult says.

Why is there no outstanding evidence of satanic abuse? As these locations were not investigated until some time after the children's removal to care, would we expect any?

The JET have hypothesised that the children went on
day trips to Wollaton with their families. We find it difficult to accept that a family who failed to meet their children's basic needs would be engaged in educational days out but even if we are wrong, is it so unbelievable that they would not have engaged in abuse at Wollaton?

2. St. Andrew's Churchyard - the enquiry report refers to a large cave at the rear of St. Andrew's graveyard, and states that it is inaccessible. In fact it is not at the rear, it is near the entrance at Forest Road East. The entrance to the cave is covered by an iron gate and grid, doubly locked. However, up the grassy bank to the left of the cave there is a rod missing from the grid through which entry can be gained. Inside there is graveyard debris, people's initials on the walls, and a 'deep dark space at the end. The cave seems to have no exit, but has easy entry. The statement that entry cannot be gained is therefore inaccurate.
As far as the caves associated with the Mansfield Road are concerned, there are several entrances to caves in the gardens around, behind Mansfield Road, and in Chestnut Grove. The geological survey, available from the Department of the Environment, shows there are a number of key holders to the caves. It appears that the Mansfield Road Shelter connects with these caves. They are locked, but presumably it would be naive to expect that they could not be entered. We are not surprised that they found no sign of satanic abuse, though we are not sure what they would have expected to find.

Again we are left with the question of how pre school children from the Broxtowe Estate know of the existence of these caves and demonstrated such fear of them when passing on the main road even though they could not be seen from there?

The Statement therefore that the Tunnels do not exist is inaccurate.

3. A private dwelling in the Wollaton Area - which was pointed out by some children and adults. The adults we have accepted, can be unreliable, and the children unlikely to give addresses. Any investigation of houses identified on such 'soft' information should obviously have been handled with utmost sensitivity as we have advised in our previous reports.
B. That adults who corroborated the children are unreliable and should not be used to support a view that ritual abuse was a feature of the Broxtowe Case.

The adults: [Redacted] - We find that the descriptions of all the women not in prison to be particularly negative.

a) [Redacted]

The women, not imprisoned, [Redacted] were all used as prosecution witnesses and have been consistent. The only exception is [Redacted] who made a statement retracting previous allegations.

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We consulted with a local doctor with long experience in Family Planning. She referred us to Professor Jeffcoates' accounts of abortion, in his textbook on Gynaecology and Obstetrics. She drew our attention to the use of the 'Higginson's Tube'
and said that official textbooks often overplayed the dangerous nature of criminal abortions.

Another experienced local doctor and nurse specialist confirmed that criminal abortions such as these are entirely possible if the abortionist is well practised.
On the first occasion [redacted] gave an extensive statement to the JET, this was taped. In this statement [redacted] made allegations regarding people and properties involved in ritualistic abuse. This statement was consistent with information [redacted] had over the past three years.
It would be reasonable to dismiss as unreliable as it is true that she told lies and also exaggerated at times. However, she is not unintelligent as her written work shows, and she is capable of being truthful. Examples of her truthfulness are omitted from the JET report which therefore means that their opinion of her is biased.

There are significant allegations which makes which we know to have been truthful according to the criminal standard of proof:

1. related incidents of abuse by the family which were later admitted and for which they were convicted.
and further,

5. The information [redacted] gave about the abuse to the [redacted] children and the people outside the family is consistent with the information given by the [redacted] children, the [redacted] children yet [redacted] has had no contact since their reception into care.

Team 4 is not naive enough to accept all [redacted] says without question, but feel that these omissions do not give a balanced view.
Omissions

There are many omissions in the JET report.

i. The Interviews with Adults

ii. Criticisms of the Police's handling of a sexual abuse investigation in a satellite case
C. The JET makes the conclusion that the adults ___ and ___ made statements about witchcraft to Social Services staff and to the Police because they had seen the affidavits prepared by the Local Authority for the Wardship proceedings.
The above information shows that the adults who made statements about ritualistic abuse could not have been influenced by the affidavits. Those sent out in March had no information about witchcraft. □ and □ did not have access to them until after they had made 'statements'; neither did they have access to the children who were talking.

It is true that the adults mentioned are often a hindrance to understanding rather than a help. Indeed, Team 4 workers have long been frustrated by their accounts. It is for this reason that care was taken to assess every piece of information carefully to discard for the time being, anything which was not corroborated or repeated constantly, and to use the adults to provide some understanding of the children's stories rather than as a direct source of "evidence". We believe that to describe them as 'totally discredited' is biased and does not take into account the facts at our disposal.

8. That the "research" carried out by Jet showed that there was little relationship between satanism and the diaries, and that they doubted ritualistic abuse's existence anywhere.
The Research section appears to be very impressive to those new to the subject, but like much of this report, it is based on inaccuracies, omissions and assumptions. These could be itemized in great detail but we have chosen not to include them, because the basic problem with the research section is that it is largely irrelevant. We advised JET at the start, that one of the traps for those considering this kind of abuse was to spend large amounts of time researching Satanism to very little effect.

JET strongly argues that Satanic abuse is used as a political weapon to discredit opponents.

We have shown that this argument is irrelevant to the situation in Nottinghamshire, 

JET say that there is no evidence of satanism in the diaries. We have the opinions of and who say they do. We also have in our possession a copy of a Black Mass translated from French which was used by a group of French priests who became Satanists in the 18th Century. This is currently circulating through a Church Stretton address, previously involved in the circulation of paedophile magazines and known to the local Police. The Mass which contains the words "Diablos Domini" clearly refers to drinking of urine, blood, eating faeces and sexual activity within a ritual.
In their account of the Canadian case, much is made of the conflict between the agencies, the implication being that this could occur here, if social workers continue. Their account does not go on, they do not say that the Police were criticized for their attitude, neither do they say that a new found understanding arose afterwards between the agencies.
The account of the McMartin Case appears to have been drawn from an article written at the time of the verdict in the Daily Telegraph. Again the Department is warned of the dangers to inter-agency relationships of pursuing these cases.

We enclose in the Appendix the guidance on Ritual Abuse produced by the multi-disciplinary task force in Los Angeles. This was set up during the proceedings and was a brave acknowledgement that the investigation by both Police and social workers had failed these children.

We have not included our detailed responses to the other cases except that they are judged by JET through a criminal standard of proof, and are largely inaccurate and biased. They do not include the recent cases where there was evidence which contributed to a conviction i.e. the Telford murders in UK, the Matamoras murders in Mexico and the Country Walk case in California.

Primarily our criticism is that this research is into the wrong subject. This required knowledge of sexual abuse not satanism.

We do not consider that the Research Section offers anything new.
CHAPTER FOUR

Direct work with Sexually Abused Children - The Social Workers' Role

Introductory Comments

JET say that Team 4 were confused about disclosure work and therapy; that work showed little evidence of skill or planning. They say there was a failure to take into account the needs of prosecution leading to the Social Services Department being held in disrepute by the Police. The following section aims to demonstrate Team 4's understanding of these processes.

The Children Act 1989 makes the interest of the child paramount. The Local Authority's duties for children looked after by them includes:

a. "Ascertaining as far as practicable, the wishes and feelings of the child."

b. "To give consideration, having regard to his age and understanding, to such wishes and feelings of the child."

c. The duty to investigate abuse.

The Piggott Committee, Cleveland Report and Working Together, underlines the importance of listening to children.

The need for social workers to have skills and confidence in undertaking direct work with children is very clear. Social workers need to know the ways in which children act and react and perceive the world and convey their wishes and feelings to
others. In sexual abuse assessments, the social work role is one of interpreter:

a. A translator of the child's language to others in the adult world.

b. To help small children communicate their thoughts and experiences.

(Ref: McFarlane and Krebs in "Sexual Abuse of Young Children", McFarlane, Waterman et al 1986)

Basic Principles

Note: Much of this chapter is taken from a draft of a book to be published on working with severely sexually abused children. It is copyright to the Authors and must not be reproduced or used without permission and acknowledgement.

It may be helpful to briefly state Team 4's working definitions of terms used

1. Disclosure. By this we mean enabling children who may have been abused to relate their experiences. Obviously, care is taken to provide a pleasant, relaxed and sensitive atmosphere, but to avoid "leading questions" or pressure. We appreciate that children may take many weeks or even months to tell all they need to. Though this process may include an investigative disclosure interview that will only be a part of the process.

2. Assessment is the process of getting information from the child and all other relevant sources and deciding on whether abuse has taken place; the best ways of helping the child and family - this involves intensive work with child and family and a sound knowledge and history base
as well as consultation with legal experts, teachers, doctors, police and other professionals.

3. Therapy - Team 4 do not view themselves as "therapists" but have skills in direct work and play-based communication techniques with children. Their role has been to help children communicate their experiences, make sense of these and convey decisions for the future. This work is greatly facilitated by the use of props or toys. Their second role has been to support foster carers in their crucial reparenting task. Children undoubtedly find that sharing traumatic experiences with a skilled and empathetic worker is therapeutic but we would not describe this as play "therapy". We have not been trained as psycho-therapists or behaviour therapists, who work from a particular theoretical base. We are however adept at communicating with children and helping them to share their thoughts and histories and the principles informing our work are as follows:-

1. That sexual abuse is a significant health and social problem, which it is hard for society to accept.

2. That sexual abuse is never justified it involves a betrayal of trust and abuse of power by an adult in relation to a child.

3. That sex offending is incremental and compulsive and has no possibility of control without intervention.

4. That the child has a right to be heard and protected.

5. That the role of the Local Authority social worker is to take responsibility for using their skills to listen to the child, and assess the risk; gather this information in a professional way for the Courts so that children have the best chance of being protected.
6. That children, who through their fear, guilt, age, language difficulties, disability, culture, and the context of their abuse, have difficulty communicating to us, nevertheless have a right to be protected, and thus adults may have to find different ways of listening.

Team 4 have been working with sexually abused children, aged a few months to 11 years. The following fundamental principles has underpinned all the individual work undertaken with these children.

1. The work was planned.
2. The child's developmental level was important—language skills, fine motor skills, attention span, personal/social skills.
3. Cultural factors were acknowledged.
4. Children needed a safe and secure environment.
5. Rapport needed to be established.
6. There was a respect for the child's ability to deal with his/her own priorities.
7. The work was at the child's pace. (A requirement emphasised in Chapter 12 of the Cleveland report)
8. Perceptions were checked out—children think as children, not as little adults.
9. Attention was paid to responses and body language.
10. Some things needed to be covered again and again—children, like adults, in distress need to talk through personal traumas more than once.

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11. Toys were used as props to assist communication.

12. Jargon was avoided.

These basic starting points for any work with children are elaborated in Kay Donley (1975) "Opening New Doors"

Aldgate and Simmonds (Eds) (1988) "Direct Work with Children"

V. Fahlberg (1986) "Working with Children" BAAF Practice Guide

Assessment Work with Sexually Abused Children

JET talk of children usually giving, how, when, by whom, where accounts of their abuse. In reality sexually abused children bring to any interviews or ongoing work:

a. Fears - of perpetrators, of threats.

b. Guilt and a great deal of defensiveness which can result in them denying the abuse happened or saying they made it up when faced with authoritarian and powerful adults, especially if these convey disbelief.

c. Serious disclosures. Sexually abused children tell of what has happened to them in stages, saving their own worst experiences to the end after testing out with less difficult disclosures and seeing how they are perceived. Chapter 12 of the Cleveland report talks of disclosure work as "the process by which professionals attempt to
encourage or hasten the natural process of disclosure by a sexually abused child." p.204. "Process" implies an ongoing piece of work and "hasten" implies we get impatient with the time children take to tell it all.

d. Their own perceptions about what is the worst part and this does not necessarily tally with the adults' agendas.

e. Material which has been repressed and disclosures which are triggered off by locations, TV programmes etc.

f. A lack of understanding about what details adults need to comply with Police evidential requirements. They can only tell what has happened from their own experiences, and understanding. If adults pressure children with how, what, who, why questions it serves only to limit what the child is able to relate.

"Why" questions are generally avoided as they are confusing for the child. The interviewer's 'why' questions are likely to be interpreted by a sexually abused child as imputing guilt, eg "why didn't you ask for help sooner?" why did he do that to you?" (ref p.28 "Interviewing the Sexually Abused Child." David Jones, Mary McQuiston, Royal College of Psychiatrists 1988). David Jones is widely quoted in the Cleveland Report.

Use of Props

Verbal skills are those least developed in young children who know names and nouns but are not good at using language to describe their experiences. It is widely acknowledged that props facilitate communication. David Glasgow, Lecturer in Forensic Clinical Psychology at Liverpool University and who previously worked for Merseyside Regional Forensic Psychology Service developing assessments acceptable to Court proceedings, advises the following props.
1. Paper and crayons, because they produce a permanent record as well as helping a child describe his/her experiences.

2. Soft toys to reassure the child and to provide a means through which the child can act out things.

3. Small figures, as above.

4. Anatomically correct dolls in specific circumstances.


Jones and McQuiston additionally recommend puppets to help children re-enact situations and larger dolls.

It should be emphasised that these props were those employed by Team 4. JET made wrong assumptions about other playthings being available.

"In working individually with very young sexually abused children, it became clear that a question and answer session, with the young child spontaneously volunteering information on direct questioning in the style of Police interviews, was a
none starter for many of the disturbed and inarticulate children."

"In practice it has been found helpful to use traditional play methods in working individually with the children and to incorporate the use of drawing materials, plasticine, toy animals and a set of anatomically correct dolls." Quotes from Dr. E. Vizzard, Dr. A. Bentovinn, M. Trante "Interviewing the Sexually Abused Child" Adoption and Fostering Vol II No. 1 1987.

These basic ground rules and an understanding of how to work with sexually abused children were part of Team 4's knowledge and skill base.

It is not in dispute that the children with whom Team 4 were working were severely sexually abused. The approach used by social workers and foster parents to enable the children to
disclose this abuse was nationally acclaimed and based on the principles and knowledge of abused children outlined briefly above. The Police accepted the sexual abuse of the children and successfully brought prosecutions based on information provided by the children and the perpetrators' admittance to the abuse. Exactly the same approach brought forth the information about other phenomenon, rituals and pornography.

**Therapeutic Needs**

The JET report makes much of the need to complete disclosure work before therapy can commence. This seems to be based on the premise that young children need individual therapy sessions with psychologists or other experts. It is not clear on what evidence this premise is based but Team 4 chose to adopt the more widely held view that young sexually abused children require help to overcome their experiences and that, with input the treatment needs of such children are good support, the majority of this help can be provided by good substitute family care. The treatment needs of sexually abused children cannot be met without an understanding of the significant impact of sexual abuse issues. Sgroi divides these into ten broad categories:

1. "Damaged Goods" Syndrome
2. Guilt
3. Fear
4. Depression
5. Low self esteem
6. Repressed anger and hostility
7. Inability to trust
8. Blurred role boundaries and role confusion.


10. Self mastery and control.

(For an elaboration of these please refer to "Treatment of the Sexually Abused Child" by Porter, Blick and Sgroi in "Handbook of Clinical Intervention in Child Sexual Abuse" 1984 Ed Sgroi.

Team 4 were also informed by the model of helping abused children described by Vera Fahlberg at a National conference in London in 1988. This is that younger children need more reparenting and less individual therapy and for older children individual work is more important.

Considerable social work input was provided to support foster parents in their crucial reparenting role - helping with the fear, guilt and unhappiness, increasing the children's self image and self confidence, teaching them how to indicate in a caring but non sexual way to other children and adults, helping them express their anger in acceptable ways. We were fortunate to have the children placed with committed and experienced foster carers.

Individual sessions with social workers did take place for some of the children. These were structured by the selection of the props provided for free play and expression of feelings. The aims of the sessions were to be enjoyable, to provide role play opportunities, to allow legitimate
expression of anger and fear, and to educate about sex and keeping safe in future. Additionally, life story work and preparation for moving on was undertaken, as expected by this Department for all children to be placed with adopters. The props available to Team 4 members included play people, cars, trains, puppets, zoo and farm animals, shapes to trace around, crayons etc - all purchased from the Early Learning Centre in Nottingham, and advocated by, for example, [redacted].

On occasions such sessions prompted further disclosure to the social workers or later to the foster carers. Even work about new families and adoption resulted in fresh information about the children's previous experiences. Given that sharing fears and bad experiences with a sympathetic listener is in itself therapeutic and that ongoing work with young children results in more information coming to light, the division between therapy and disclosure work promulgated by the JET team is unrealistic for children known to be sexually abused and impracticable within a child centred approach. The notion that a model of disclosure -

stop -
therapy

can be followed is nonsensical for sexually abused children who have so much to say and need so much security, support and help to say it.

It should be remembered that all these children were sexually abused - the Police, Courts and perpetrators agreed. The criticisms of disclosure and therapy being confused outlined in Chapter 12 of the Cleveland Report refer to those children where sexual abuse is suspected.

We feel totally justified in the approach we adopted whilst working with the children from the Broxtowe case. It enabled
the children to tell their foster carers and social workers much of what they needed to say. The children's behaviour and language improved and the good foster care with sympathetic carers has enabled us to place severely traumatised, neglected and abused children successfully with adoptive families.

Children's Memories

One of the major assumptions of the JET enquiry is that many of the children would not have remembered the names and details of their abuse from when they were so young and been able to recount it accurately later.

Psychological theory helps with two areas in child sexual abuse.
1. Children's memory and suggestibility and reliability as witnesses and

2. knowledge of anatomy and function of sexual organs.

The first one is especially important to the JET report. Long before children can say any words they understand their meaning and during the 1-2 age group, new words are learned daily. At this stage, verbal language may be subsidiary to other forms of communication and toddlers search faces for gestures and the tone of voice is important but during years 2-3 verbal exchange becomes more meaningful and language develops very quickly. Ages 1-3 years are crucial for language acquisition and there are concerns that moving children during this time disrupts learning in this important area. Names of people, pets, common objects, parts of body, rooms of the house are being learned and stored. Children who are moved must begin again to learn names of people, pets etc and their ability to move on to joining words together and sentence formation can be delayed. Elizabeth Newson has advised the Department to this effect in consultations about the best timing of moves for children within the care system. It is also well documented by Vera Fahlberg.

Therefore Team 4 had no difficulty in accepting that children could remember names and objects from their time at home which were stored in their memories from the early "noun and name" acquiring years.

The other principle points from research into children's memories are as follows:

1. Memory is not a unitary phenomena but consists of many elements.

2. There is not a single memory trace but we remember in a series of fragments which we piece together when required
to recall a past event.

3. Memory is not static but subject to change dependent upon the circumstances under which the memory was created and the psychological state of the individual.

4. Children's memory does not progress from nil capacity to adult capacity even though children present as having a poorer capacity to recall details because of their lesser experiences and understanding of the world, the inept way in which adults try to gain access to children's memories and children's insufficient grasp of language. (ref Lofters, Davies "Journal of Social Issues" 40, 51-67 1984).

5. Children in fact do better than adults in some memory tasks. They can be more accurate because they are less affected by prejudices that affect perceptions (ref the well known study in 1947 by Allport).

6. Young children who experience events that made an impact on them, even before they were able to speak, remember those events accurately when they are 3-4 years old and can use their current language to relate the facts. This happens without any rehearsal between the event and the relating. (Ref Todd and Perlmutter. "Reality recalled by pre-school children" in Children's memory, New Directions in Child Development" no 10, p.69-85 1980.) This research is particularly relevant to the Broxtowe case.

7. The long term capacity of children to remember past events is as good as that of adults. There is no difference in the "forgetting curve" ie what we forget with time.

8. Infant school children can actually remember more detail
than adults if they are relating events very familiar to them. Under fives only recall less detail because of their poorer language skills, hence the need for drawing materials and other props to assist them. (Ref Linaberg "Is Knowledge base development a necessary and sufficient condition for memory development" J. of Experimental Child Psychology 30, 401-410 1980)

9. Stress and personal impact affect memory. Central events, those with personal poignancy, are better recalled by children than those which are considered peripheral. This raises dilemmas with regard to sexual abuse investigations as what is central to the Police and social workers eg who, when, where, may be peripheral to the child.

Despite the fact that children generally are not as adept as adults in recalling events in the correct order, for happenings of great importance to them, they are generally very able to do this. (Ref: Jones and Krugman "Can a 3 year old child bear witness to her sexual abuse and attempted murder?" in Child Abuse and Neglect, 10 253-258 1986

(Pynoos and Elk "The child as witness to homicide" J. of Social Issues 40 87-108 1984)

10. Children may take months to relate a traumatic event because the fear and terror causes them to suppress the memories. (Ref; Lister "Forced Silence. A neglected dimension of Trauma" American J of Psychiatry 139 867-872 1984)


11. The memory most susceptible to being altered is that
which is of less central importance or personal poignancy.

13. Sceptics about ritualistic abuse (and sexual abuse) say that children confuse reality with dreams and thoughts, they confuse fact and fantasy. Also, research indicates that children do not confuse what they dream with what they experience. Rather they confuse what they did with what they thought of doing.


In Court and witness situations, children are unlikely to have a problem separating reality from dreams or thoughts. They may claim that they defended themselves when in fact they wished they had done so but in reality could not do so. Some of the Broxtowe children said that "all the other children did this or that" whilst claiming that they did not. This is the same phenomena, the same defence mechanism.

14. Children do as well as adults in recognising faces from
memory in photo line ups. Research shows that abducted or abused children as young as 3 years old can make unaltering recognition of faces in photo line ups.

15. The amount and accuracy of children's recall dramatically improves if appropriate props are used eg figures, puppets, cars, aeroplanes, toy animals which enable them to create their everyday experiences. Memory is also helped by returning the child to the original context. There is no evidence that either props or returning to locations, distorts the child's memory or perception. (Ref: Price "The Development of Children's Comprehension of Recurring Episodes" 1984.)

Summary

a. The Broxtowe case highlights the dilemma between good child centred practice and the need for evidence.

b. The JET ignored:

i. Current good practice in working with children.

ii. Research about child development - language and memory.

iii. Knowledge base about sexual abuse.

iv. Progress of the Broxtowe children as a result of our intervention and "reparenting" model.
Comments on the conflicts between the Evidential Requirements of Court and Prosecution

We do not feel that the JET report offers the Department anything other than a simplistic, unrealistic solution to this very real difficulty to assist with the problem for both Police and Social Services of marrying two often conflicting needs.

A recent survey undertaken by the Principal Professional Officer Child Protection demonstrates the difficulty facing the Department. Out of a sample of approximately 200 case conferences over six months, where there was sufficient reason to register children in the Sexual Abuse category, only 50 had enough evidence to recommend prosecution. Out of these approximately 18 perpetrators were convicted or cautioned. This illustrates the dilemma for Social Services in investigating and assessing child sexual abuse in a way which is prescribed by the Criminal Justice model. Only around 9% proceed to conviction.

This is not an argument for not prosecuting alleged sex offenders - on the contrary, all members of Team 4 regard prosecution as fundamental to both the therapeutic and protective needs of children and to undertaking any work with perpetrators. What we are identifying is the low rate of criminal resolution balanced by the effort put into this approach.

The JET report neither acknowledges or helps the Department
with this unlike the Piggott Committee on children's evidence who start from that position. The Criminal Justice System is acknowledged by Professor Jennifer Temkin, a member of the Committee, as an adult centred system which offers little to those who are young or vulnerable, where the prosecution depends on their testimony. It is acknowledged that the Defence will use any means at their disposal to discredit children's testimony. For example, despite great care being taken, the charge of contamination is often levelled against foster parent support groups, or even support groups for older children abused in a paedophile ring. These may be essential for the support of carers or children, and yet could realistically lose a case. For this reason mature multidisciplinary judgements need to be made about the progression of individual cases without recrimination and allowing for any information to be gathered to develop knowledge for the future.
CHAPTER FIVE

The Views of Team 4.

The Department's Response

During the past months harsh words have been expressed by workers in Team 4 regarding the behaviour of JET, the response of the Director and Chairman and the Senior Managers. Indeed grievance proceedings and legal actions are still under way. During the course of compiling this report these feelings have often been reiterated. The experience of working with ritual abuse and feeling the effect of the Police and the Department's response has, we feel, not only made us angry but given us insight into why this backlash occurs. We do not in any way seek retribution: after all the focus must be on the abuse which the children experienced, and protecting other children. We do however expect that matters are put right. Some actions are inexcusable and require urgent consideration of compensating and rehabilitative action. Some apologies have already been made and accepted. Outstanding areas are compensation to the foster parents, rehabilitation of the foster parents and the same with the social workers and managers. Recompense and restorative action needs to occur for the damage to reputations carried out by the JET. It is not enough to say, as when the discrediting was occurring within the Police force, that it will pass through normal working relationships. We believe that action needs to be taken.

The crisis in this case has we believe exposed a dislocation in understanding between Senior Management and staff. Staff felt they had a mandate to carry out their work but in the end discovered they did not. In our view more critical support should have been given throughout which could only have happened if Senior Management had been more aware of the

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issues. We believe they could not have had more information. JET implies that Team 4 and Chris Johnston and Judith Dawson were not managed properly and to an extent we feel that this is valid. It was not though as they imply that The Team were "unmanageable" or that Senior Management were weak, but that uncritical and uninformed support was often given without analysis which could easily be eroded in a crisis. Team 4 do not accept responsibility for this. There is ample written evidence of their attempts to bring the issues to Management's attention from as early as June 1988. Years ago, or with other issues, this model of trusting staff without a knowledge base may be acceptable; in sexual abuse and multi agency issues it is not. Just as with Equal Opportunities Senior Managers and Politicians cannot afford the luxury of leaving the responsibility elsewhere, so to with the abuse of children we feel more account has to be taken of their senior management's training and support needs.

We believe that when the JET report appeared this lack of knowledge was exposed and the sense of foolishness and humiliation at being apparently 'taken in' allowed previously supportive managers to be hooked into the backlash. We believe they were not only annoyed with Team 4 who were apparently exposed but with themselves as well.

The different skills and experiences of senior managers made them ill prepared to respond to the crisis which this case occasioned. Their proper distance from practice made it difficult for them to give informed support and guidance. We would hope that the Director and his Managers are given every support by the Department of Health and Association of Directors of Social Services, in addressing the training and support needs of Senior Managers required to be informed about a variety of issues. We recognise that the public profile of Child Protection work is high and that Senior Managers are vulnerable too.
We would recommend therefore that as in the aftermath of this crisis there will be undoubted operational involvement at a senior level, that opportunities are given soon for managers to reflect on the issues around and to develop the understandings gained whilst they have been away from practice. We would also recommend that at some stage this is jointly done with the Police Senior Managers as well. This has already taken place in other Authorities for Senior Members of Social Services and Police with members of Team 4 who were recommended to offer the training by the Department of Health.
The Effects on Workers

This statement has been written by the social workers in the Team whose voice did not appear in the JET Report.

The personnel chosen to join Team 4 were appointed because of their proven skills over many years in the fields of child care and child protection. Team 4 was created as a working unit in August but not everyone was in post until January 1989. The effect of the transition of workers from the Broxtowe Team was that for many months these workers carried two caseloads. The Play Therapist, other social workers, and SFC worker, were newly appointed in the Area and another worker did sessional work whilst maintaining employment elsewhere. Some of the early work with the family was done by North West Area workers who subsequently did not join Team 4.

During a crucial time in the children's disclosures, fresh members joined the group, bringing with them a need to familiarize themselves with the issues in the past, and consequently fresh perspectives and views on the understanding of the information. Joining the team was seen as a rare opportunity to do difficult direct work with a small group of very severely abused needy children, to be closely involved in complex court situations, to home find and prepare adopters for extremely hard to place children and to work with an almost 'hopeless' in the social work sense, group of adult clients. All this was to be undertaken under the guidance of a senior many of us had previously worked with and found supportive, challenging and dynamic. In many ways an exciting prospect for child care workers who are often denied the opportunity to use their skills fully in a busy inner city office.

Support within the team was excellent, personal supervision was on a regular basis and focused on the protection of
children and individual staff development, not information gathering. Team meetings were held weekly and staff were expected to attend. There was a constant theme at the meetings of trying to understand and make sense of the bizarre and unfamiliar disclosures and allegations. We gradually developed a hypothesis of ritual abuse which all the facts at our disposal seemed to support. This was not unchallenged and many of us constantly sought more likely explanations for the information that was emerging.

Discussion in these meetings was open and all members were vocal in their view. We are all strong minded individuals who make our own assessments for ourselves and are not afraid of challenging others views. We had a deep seated desire to deny the very idea of organised satanic abuse as part of the repertoire of human behaviour. When we began to realise what we might be dealing with, it effected each of us deeply on a human, emotional level. We all struggled with some of the religious overtones as none of us had worked within that context.

In February 1988 RW spoke to the members of the team available that day and later spoke to the foster parents. We did not receive a list of indicators as stated by the JET. We listened to what he said and noted it. There were many similarities between what he told us and what we knew of the children's diaries. We feel that RW validated what we already knew rather than introducing any new themes or information. Workers had different views of the value of his contribution. Most felt his impact was not significant.

Even before JET was set up it was clear that meaningful senior management in relation to the team was sadly lacking. As time went on no-one beyond PPO Child Protection appeared or made it their business to find out what was going on. There is ample written evidence of Chris Johnston and Judith Dawson's attempts to bring the issues to management's attention from as
early as June 1988. On little or no information, managers appeared to us to veer between either supporting us wholeheartedly as after the court case, or totally rejecting us after the JET Report was finished.

At the outset we were a diverse group of workers with no personal or social contact outside of the work situation - the only common denominators being our genders and social work training, skills and experience. As the situation became more stressful and the distress caused by the nature and content of our day to day work was compounded by, initially, the lack of support from senior management, then marginalisation and vilification (post JET), we looked to each other for support. The strength and mutual support we have generated as a group has helped us survive as individuals, as well as helping us to hold fast to our professional views relating to child protection.

It seems inevitable that a small group of workers dealing with this sort of material, whose professional fate has shifted from commendations by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons to televised accusations of 'brain washing' will attract emotional responses of various persuasions from the wider Department. We understand we have become the victims of such mythology. It is unfortunate if the fact we are all women is used in a prejudicial way. Sexist values should not have any place in the assessment of our work. Our group support does not mean that we are not independent, thinking individuals, but rather that we have appropriately responded to our unenviable professional and almost untenable situation.

The effect on workers of dealing with the content and issues of the Broxtowe Case has never been acknowledged by the Department. Each worker has their own way to tell about the effects of the pain, sadness and loss of innocence on their personal and emotional lives - and how they and their families have dealt with it and survived. We have drawn strength drom
the children's resilience and the progress that some of them have made and even workers who have now left the team still work hard to ensure that their voices are heard. We have no clear view of the phenomena of Ritual Abuse as yet, except that it involved the very real abuse and torture of children's minds and bodies. After struggling for months with the material our view is that something very strange happened within and around the Taylor family. There are strong indications that activities they were involved in involved some sort of satanic practice, drug abuse, organised paedophile activities and child pornography. Whether some of the children's disclosures are 'true' in the sense that they really happened or whether they are truths only in the sense that the children were deliberately misled into believing they had happened we cannot say. We do not necessarily consider that adults involved in these satanic practices were operating within a belief system. It could be that the trappings of satanism added extra stimulation and a structure that justified sexual abuse. The use of the belief system would also give them power over vulnerable individuals and children they wanted to exploit.

We accept that this is only one view, we are open to differing views, in the apparent absence of empirical evidence and in the context of a general lack of knowledge and understanding about satanic practices and the forms that sexual abuse of children can take. We feel that open debate is healthy and necessary and exists as a dynamic force within Team 4. We find the JET report arrogant and narrow minded in the extreme. Leaving aside the general tone of the report, obvious errors, omissions, judgemental statement etc, it reads throughout like a document justifying a belief system. No issues are left open to question, the unanimity of the report over every issue is concerning. As we know they deviated wildly from their brief and adopted a type of investigation that none of them were qualified to undertake. None of us were interviewed by the team or given any opportunity to explain the basis for our
conclusions. The fact that the very dubious findings of the JET were so readily accepted horrified and dismayed us, the added insult of giving us no recourse to the original report was to many of us unbelievable.

Prior to the JET issue a number of us had worked for the Department for many years enjoying reputations as good, solid workers. None of us had perceived any serious concerns about our professionalism or skill, quite the contrary. We have been very distressed to find colleagues who know us well and have treated us with respect in the past, seemingly dismissing us as a group of hysterics. If the Department genuinely accept the JET findings, then commonsense tells us that we should all be dismissed for gross professional misconduct.

The views of the Senior

The Broxtoxe Case has been an arduous task for all the workers, demanding all their skills and expertise. I am full of admiration for their commitment throughout, and to their determination that the true nature of the children's experience will be fully recognised.

During the early stages of the Broxtowe Case I was managed and supervised by Malcolm Dillon the then Assistant Area Director. Although formal supervision was scarce due to the absence of Jeff Parker to West Area, we were constantly in contact and he was always aware of what was going on.

Malcolm was also prepared to offer support through his presence at the difficult meetings with the Police and suffered similar intimidation from them as Judith and I. I was surprised that he wasn't mentioned in the Joint Enquiry Team Report as he played such a large part up to the beginning of 1989 when he went to West Area.

When Jeff Parker returned to North West Area both he and Malcolm continued to offer support to Team 4 and to the foster
parents.
In relation to County Hall, the support came from Norman Hanson and Judith Dawson in the early days and I know that the Chairman was extremely supportive when we needed the new Team. However, as it became clear that a new kind of abuse was emerging, it was Judith who was available for support. Beyond her, it was difficult to get people to understand the significance of what was happening.
As the difficulties have emerged, the support within the Team has been astounding; the shock of the way the Police behaved, and then Jet, united us. I hope this report will help the department to understand what it's been like, and how important it is for child Protection.
Chris Johnston.

The Principal Professional Officer's view

This case has effected my entire professional life and my personal view of the world. As a worker of long experience and I believe previously respected by colleagues, I have found this recent situation very distressing. Though I had regular supervision and believe I kept Children's Division aware of the developments, there was always a sense of the Broxtowe Case being regarded as exceptional. It seemed difficult for senior managers to realise that it was pivotal to Child Protection work. At times I believe it was almost regarded as an indulgence and little to do with the work I should be doing in Children's Division. This I believe was to do with the distance of senior managers from practice and sexual abuse issues together with the different pressures and stresses that they were experiencing. I tried to address my own support needs in this new area with the agreement of my manager by taking up the offer of consultation with a local academic. This however was withdrawn when the difficulties arose and was
never taken any further. My main experience throughout this time therefore has been isolation from divisional colleagues and support from the Team, particularly Chris Johnston.

I do believe that the need for specialist advice in Child Protection work in Nottinghamshire is underestimated and that senior managers tend to follow an exclusively procedural model. Unfortunately, this failed us in relation to our difficulties with Broxtowe and the specialist advice which was available was not trusted and supported. In future, senior managers should receive training and support so that they are able to respond and give more appropriate support.

I was obviously very shocked and distressed when I read the report and fully understood what colleagues who had accepted the report, with whom I thought I had a relationship, thought about the work with which I was associated. In future Children's Division, particularly the specialists in child protection, need to be more aware of the need to properly reflect on and explain the issues in a way that senior managers and members who are not specialists can respond to. This obviously has implications for time but if there is anything positive to come out of this situation it is that we have begun to learn to communicate.

Judith Dawson.

Other members of Children's Division and the previous Area Director, were asked if they wished to contribute. Those who wished to comment have had their pieces included in the Appendix.
CHAPTER SIX

RITUAL ABUSE

Members of Team 4, who have already acted as consultants to the Department of Health, other Police and Social services departments and voluntary agencies, feel they would have something to contribute, [wording unclear]

As a beginning, and given the special circumstances of the situation we are prepared to discuss ritual abuse here in isolation, on the understanding, that we would normally discuss it in the context of all sexual abuse, and not wish to focus on it alone.

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A. DEFINITION OF TERMS

(Note Much of this chapter is part of a Chapter on Organised, Institutional and Network Abuse in a book by the Authors on Working with Sexually Abused Children which is being prepared for publication. It is copyright to the Authors and must not be used or copied without acknowledgement or permission).

The words "satanic", "occult", "witchcraft", and "ritualistic" are often used carelessly and interchanged by those not familiar with them. Indeed, it is noticeable within the Joint Enquiry report that this occurs. Usually, this is a charge made about evangelical fundamentalists; that looseness in the use of terms, actually belies ignorance, and dogmatism, and an inability to tolerate anything which is not conventional, or Christian. This criticism is always a difficult one to counteract, particularly as arguments are mounted with such passion. However, this section of our report will attempt to present our personal experiences, based on an eclectic, and secular position, established over three years of dealing with this problem.

We feel that one should regard this as one would any other professional social work issue; to research as far as is necessary, to apply with accepted theory, to connect this with empirical practice, and to develop a working synthesis from this. It does not argue that worker's need to have expert knowledge of satanic and occult practice; that resource is available within both the Christian church and Satanic literature, but rather a full understanding of the dynamics of abuse and oppression is required, which is informed by the particular belief system of the abuser. This should be a core skill and understanding which the experienced child
protection practitioner can transfer.

Some definitions and explanations are necessary, though, as there is no doubt that there is new type of abuse emerging which requires some understanding of the practice of occultism, witchcraft and Satanism.

In 1951, the witchcraft act was repealed, enabling occultists, witches and satanists to pursue their beliefs unhindered. This coincided with a growing loosening of the social structure and a general liberalising of conventions. Since then occult shops and magazines have emerged to the extent that there is more awareness of occultism as a way of life for a significant number of people. In short the interest is enough to provide a number of individuals with a profitable means of earning a living.

The meaning of "occult" is "secret". Followers believe that they have access to ancient knowledge about the meaning of life. In the nineteenth century there was considerable interest in the occult, particularly as it became fashionable to study oriental culture and beliefs. Many writers in the late nineteenth and twentieth century, flirted with occultism. (Byron W.B. Yeats, Swinburne and Baudelaire). Theirs was an eclectic belief, based on ancient quabalistic writings, Rosicrucianism and oriental philosophies. The links with those and modern occultism are not always easy to follow as modern thinking seems to be dynamic and to incorporate an amalgam of new alternative philosophies.

The origins of present day witchcraft in the UK can be found in what are called the "old religions" emanating from the stone circle cult of prehistoric times through Celtic and Nordic paganism, influenced by the moon cults of Ancient Greece on the way. This in England has been
connected with the nineteenth century occult revival and an interest in nature - worship and the pantheism of writers like Wordsworth. "White witches" claim to use the forces of nature for a beneficial purpose, and there is much in their way of living that by any standard is creditable. These are often referred to as "feminine" in nature, emphasising the life force, creativity, compassion and beauty and have an affinity in their view of life to ecologists and conservationists. The masculine element, represented by the horned God is favoured by those witches who chose to use natural forces in a more malign way. These definitions are not ours, they are easily found in occult literature.

The modern witchcraft coven, which may be "white" or "black" is well represented throughout the country, as contact pages of occult magazines can testify. Their philosophies appear to be "half baked" containing misunderstood theosophy and Eastern thought mixed up with Pagan, occultist ideas. Since they believe in the forces of nature, they hold their festival on dates linked with the movement of the sun and moon.

There does not appear to be any national organisation, though there will be links through families, festivals, literature and commonality of lifestyle. There is evidence from those involved with this activity, that there are some covens who engage in rather salacious activities as a way of inducing more excitement. This raises a difficulty in categorising as there is little basis for this behaviour in any of the ancient tracts on which they claim to be based. This is one of the major flaws of the JET Report's research section which, as no description of abusive behaviour was found in the selective tracts studied, assumes that it does not take place.
These groups may attract those who will see it as a means of carrying out sexual gratification. However there is no doubt that some groups will be harmless and only cause concern to some Christian groups of which more will be said later.

Satanism - though purists will criticise this, the word "satanic" is usually used adjectivally to describe certain types of activity and beliefs. This is an appropriate and common way for human beings to communicate; to use "the particular" to describe the general, and we must be wary of becoming embroiled in semantic arguments which divert from the issue. The dictionary definition is useful "having the qualities of Satan; devilish, infernal; hellish.

Satanists themselves represent various positions, depending on the cult to which they belong; however, generally speaking, whilst witchcraft is an essentially pre-Christian position, Satanism is explicitly anti-Christian. Some regard Satan as being God and draw their inspiration from Corinthians, 2.4.4. Others regard Satan as a means of promoting the power of the individual. The "days" of satanism are the nights of the new moon, when no reflected light from the sun can reach the earth, and on the nights of 1st February, 30th April, 1st August and 31st October. The satanic feasts are on the eves of great Christian festivals, taken over by them from pre-Christian times. Beltane (Walpurgis Night); and Samhain are the major occasions for the celebration of the Black Mass. At these times those involved tell us there may be gatherings of many people from distances away.

Progression within satanism is well defined through a series of grades. The Christian exorcism study group,
which has two representatives in Nottinghamshire, claim that through their monitoring they are aware of great discipline through the groups, that they often encourage senior members to engage in political, professional and business careers, sometimes through compromising activities during ceremonies. Satanists will hate and despise the Christian Church and will do all in their power to desecrate them or mock their ceremonies. The study group say that their highest prize is the corruption of a clergyman.

Readers may ask how we know this— and the answer is that it consistently comes from adults who claim to have been involved. Some are reliable, some clearly are not. A considerable number of people deny any criminal activity.

Satanists often argue against these definitions, saying that they are based on ignorance, which is inevitable when cults are forced through prejudice to carry out their activities in secret. They may also argue quite rightly that "satanism" is often used by some people to describe any belief other than their own. An example would be the Ayatollah, calling the US the Great Satan, or Dr. Paisley calling the Pope the Anti-Christ. This is one of the views put forward by satanists which is worthy of consideration. An example of this perceptual set would be found in some fundamentalist Christian religions. Their logic, too is well argued— if you believe in a positive Holy Spirit, engaged through prayer, worship etc you will believe in spiritual "doorways to other powers." In fact there is a magazine which is called "Doorways to Danger" which would identify activities such as fortune telling, heavy metal rock, as such doorways. More secular minded professionals, such as
Team4, do not find this view helpful or relevant to our situation. We do feel though that it is important not to be disarmed by either argument but to be informed by it and to understand from which perceptual set the argument is being presented, so that an informed view can be taken.

**Child Protection**

For child protection purposes, however, these descriptions and definitions must be used contextually, rather than judgementally. Civil liberties groups would quite rightly be concerned about statutory agencies making judgements about lifestyles and beliefs. The Police may take an even more focused view - to be a witch or satanist is not a crime, and the Police will need to concentrate on activities which occur in such a context rather than the context itself. For child protection purposes abuse which occurs within a boarding school or by a Catholic Priest, is of equal interest. The context is of concern so that the child's world view is understood and so that it can be properly investigated and appropriate therapy offered. The purpose of this chapter therefore is to try and describe the phenomena called Ritual Abuse, and to suggest a model for responding which is best able to protect children; to support the worker; and enable the agency to manage it within the multidisciplinary arena. It argues for child protection worker's being informed by the belief system which they may encounter but not being overawed or paralysed by it. The special needs of the child will be stressed together with those of the worker. These views are based on direct experiences of the problem in Nottinghamshire on more than one case over the past two years, and from direct knowledge of other cases in the UK, Europe and the US. The material is gleaned from direct testimony of children and adults, speaking retrospectively and from occult literature and
consultations with those more experienced in occult belief systems.
B. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The belief that there is a connection between satanism and crime is not new. Concern about occult activities, peaks from time to time throughout history, fuelled by the secret nature of the groups, and undoubtedly sometimes as a response by the established religions to challenge. Scapegoating is a well established means of diversion and defence, and because of this any 'witchcraft' uncovered by the Inquisition for example, should be treated with suspicion. In the late 1970's however concern began to focus on sexual abuse and human sacrifice - (Son of Sam murders Charles Manson, the Telford murders in the UK).

In the last eight years in the UK, Europe and the US, sexual abuse in childhood has been established as a significant health and social problem. This awareness has shown professionals the value of listening to and learning to communicate with children. Any allegations which they make about sexual abuse are therefore treated with great seriousness. The significance of their similarity to what adult survivors have been saying since Freud's dismissal of the problem has not been lost and has chastened many workers, when hearing unfamiliar disclosures.

Recently, in the wake of their realisation of the nature of sexual abuse, more unfamiliar and bizarre stories have been emerging from children, whilst coinciding with many stories from adults, previously considered to be mentally unstable. These are emerging throughout the Western World, anywhere where there is an established professional response to abuse. This is not to say they are not erupting elsewhere. These stories are different enough (e.g. Satanista - Mexico) to give them credence.
within their own cultures, and similar enough to be disconcerting to workers, who raise questions about a new phenomena.

In Nottinghamshire alone, not only have there been similar allegations from at least four areas of the county, from children, but there have been other allegations from unconnected adults. Staff in the county have also been consulted on at least 30 cases from throughout the UK together with one from Holland, and others from the US. Recently contacts have been made with Norway, Italy and Australia. We have knowledge of the problem in South Africa and in parts of the Ukraine and Poland. Without exception the consultations that we have undertaken have been well established, mainstream, workers of all professions, experienced in the dynamics of abuse, but with no previous belief in, or knowledge of Satanism.

There have been other requests for consultations which have not been accepted if they came directly from clients without references, or from workers who may have ascribed this problem to their situation too readily. Most of this work has been undertaken in workers own time and has been taken on in recognition of the distress which this problem engenders in professionals who are faced with it for the first time.

In an attempt to manage the problem, and lessen the encroachment into personal time, workers from Team 4 have established a national secular multi-disciplinary support group with funding from Staff Care Services, Keele University. This is currently seeking charitable status. It is attracting a growing number of professionals and has just employed its first part time administrator. Though in Nottinghamshire workers are considered to be pioneers in the field of multi-generational ritual abuse
and working with children they are not the only ones who have come across satanic and cult abuse. Many others have been confronted with this problem and tell similar accounts and describe similar professional isolation.

Some people such as take a rather jaundiced view of ritual abuse. He is a policeman experienced in the investigation of paedophile sex rings and child pornography and has a fairly cynical view of what he considers to be flood of interest in ritual abuse. He feels that the satanic connection is over emphasised and diverts attention from the criminal elements such as pornography, drugs and paedophile abuse. There is an attraction in his argument, though his perspective is admittedly and quite clearly a Police one, in that he views evidence in a concrete way. His views are useful to give perspective to the fundamentalist Christian ones but other Police colleagues feel he is over conservative and in danger of becoming a professional campaigned for his view in the way that he argues the "Ritual Abuse" lobby has done. The fact that concrete evidence is often not found needs to be taken into account, but cannot simply be used to dismiss the problem – otherwise we would still be dismissing sexual abuse.

C. DESCRIPTION AND AN ATTEMPT TO DEFINE THE PHENOMENA

The term ritual abuse is increasingly being included on the diagnostic agenda. Presentations are now included as a matter of course in prestigious professional conferences. No-one is saying that there is an epidemic, but that it is being picked up and common features are being identified.

These include descriptions of group sex, carried out by various known and unknown adults; gross sexual and
physical abuse; humiliation; bondage, drinking blood; killing animals; killing babies; abuse by instruments; responding to Christian symbols in a mocking or fearful way; fear of an external power; the involvement of various social classes; distorted and nonsensical information; dancing around bonfires; chanting; descriptions of "witch, rude or hurting parties."

The most helpful description for child protection workers is based on the views of an established academic in the understanding of sexual abuse, Dr. David Finkelhor of the Family Violence Research Unit at the University of New Hampshire. His views are as follows and have been used to form a working definition based upon the experiences in Nottinghamshire and elsewhere in the UK. "Ritual abuse is more than sexual abuse; it includes emotional abuse, and physical abuse. Sometimes the sexual abuse is secondary to the terrorising within a belief system. The children actually believe that some external force and particular individuals have magical powers over them and that certain things have happened - the Devil has appeared, babies have been killed, operations have been carried out. The symptoms in terms of psychological damage are much worse."

The Team 4 Definition - Ritual Abuse is severe sexual, physical and emotional abuse, that occurs in a context linked to symbols, or activities that appear to have religious, magical or supernatural significance and where over time, they are repeated and used to frighten, intimidate and confuse the children.

It should be noted that in the Team 4 definition there is no mention of the word Satanic or Occult. This is because experience has taught us that it is
too precise a word to use within a general definition. Our work with perpetrators has shown the importance of understanding any belief system within which there is abuse. This position illustrates the importance of flexibility, and a dynamic approach to this new problem.

Of course one argument might be that it is only too easy, when dealing with human behaviour to create a definition and adapt situations to fit a "syndrome" - social behaviour is not an exact science and this position could probably be proved. The JET report has worked hard to support this position, that it can be created by professionals who believe in it. One has therefore to look at the facts of each case, to consider the credentials of the professional; to see whether reasonable professional judgements have been applied and to assess accordingly. The dangers in making a definition, are counterbalanced by the value of describing a phenomenon so that clients are more likely to get access to the services they require.

The Nottinghamshire experience is significant in a number of ways. Primarily though it was the largest child sex abuse case ever investigated in the UK, leading to the protection of the largest number of children.

As the children became to feel safe, they talked about gross sexual abuse and the wardship and criminal prosecution was mounted very successfully. On this basis alone the case and the workers involved with it achieved national recognition. The Judge in the wardship case acknowledged this and granted leave for information to be shared in the interests of research and professional
development whilst, of course, protecting the children's identities. The judgement also included another significant feature. In the light of what the children were saying, she had gone to great pains to test out the type of approach used by the workers, and the way information was gathered by foster parents. That is why when she refers to the children being satanically abused, that is so significant, as is the instruction, unusual though it was, that all this information should be passed to the Police in the interests of the protection of other children. This very careful judicial acknowledgement that these children had endured abuse of a different dimension, of course received publicity, and professional attention likely to endure as the issue of ritual abuse develops.

There are, of course, many disclosures well known to readers, some of which are completely bizarre and inexplicable. Some of the information however is clear and overwhelming eg one child mentions adults in costumes, on 54 occasions in the first six months of his disclosures. Another mentions adult names of people who abused them 20 times in the first six months, another mentions them 49 times. None of these was a family member. Another child mentions the drinking of blood 17 times in the first six months of disclosures. Another mentions it seven times.

The case so far therefore bears the hallmarks of the new phenomena called ritual abuse and because of the publicity and the fact that the workers had achieved communication with the children and protection (unusually) there were not surprisingly consulted by others coming in contact with this problem. They were surprised and overwhelmed by the numbers of people contacting them.
The North West: children who have come into care because of sexual abuse, talking about being taken to parties by their relatives, where they are abused. Here adults are dressed in costumes, using strange names and "funny" words, they speak of having to jump into bonfires, of children being buried, babies being killed and drinking the blood of animals.

The North East: a mother describes her son's involvement in a group which practised homosexual abuse, mockeries of Christian ceremonies, killings, drinking blood.

South of England: workers investigating complaints against a child care worker. Children described anal abuse by the woman and her husband. Strangers came dressed in costumes, a secret room, where rituals took place. Drew animals and children on a table being abused.

Home Counties: recent prosecution with ritual elements included, man convicted of sexually abusing children. Children say he made them into witches and gave them special powers. Talked about animals killed, worried about the moon.

Adults: in their twenties, thirties and forties, often with histories of troubled lives, talking about involvement through their families in Satanic groups as
children. These stories are told to Nottingham social workers and other professionals in the East Midlands and throughout the UK. The stories are consistent and corroborate substantially what children say today. They are usually rather vague about the philosophical base of these groups, describing them variously, as satanic, devil worship, and witchcraft. This underlines the danger of dismissing a phenomena if it does not fit precisely an established doctrine, the vagueness might of course be due to the trauma or because the primary goal of the group has not been spelt out or properly understood by them. Many of these people have been seen by psychiatrists who do not diagnose mental illness. JET's assertion that most people talking about this are mentally ill, is not supported by fact.

There are more cases, both in the UK and abroad. The ones mentioned have been necessarily vague because professionals often come in complete confidence, and often feeling intimidated and isolated. The precise details have been noted and collected for research purposes. There are emerging themes; witch or hurting parties, King or Master figure; groups of adults; extreme sexual and physical abuse; drinking blood; taken to various locations; animals killed; involvement of snakes; dancing in a circle; drawing upside down crosses; unbelievable locations; unbelievable adults.

TESTIMONY OF ADULTS

This comes from those adults who have claimed past or current involvement in occult life. Not all were involved with child abuse.

i There is a tradition of sacrifices in satanic groups, sometimes small animals, some to larger ones and humans. There is no way of knowing whether this
Satanic groups would say these are symbolic descriptions of human sacrifice, which may be so - it still offers a model for other people to follow. It also casts doubt on any attempt to present satanic beliefs in an 'innocent' light.

ii Different locations are used which are bought and sold before evidence is found. Estate agents are particularly useful to a group.

iii Different social classes and professions take part.

iv Child abuse is used by some groups, drawing on Crowley's Law or "great mystery" that sex magic is the most effective way to achieve power.

v These sorts of groups are often attractive to paedophiles, who are not interested in the philosophy, but the children. This again emphasises the rather loosely contrived philosophies of some groups, which may not carry out defined ceremonies, but just whatever perversions occur at the time. Others will be very orthodox.

vi People do dress up in costumes, particularly masks. A Police Force in the North of England have recently come across a group of adults, dressed in cloaks and masks, with theatrical swords, at midnight, in a deserted place; singing and chanting. As no law was being broken the Police did nothing except feel concerned at the explanation that they were amateur actors. The full range of professions was apparently represented.
vii There is a feeling that group meetings are very well organised. Of course for those not engaged in anti-social behaviour this is difficult to contemplate. It is worth drawing on the experience of the RSPCA undercover team who came to Nottingham to discuss animal sacrifice in the context of ritual abuse. When the point about the large meetings being hard to believe was made, they drew our attention to the dog fighting sub culture. After two years undercover investigation they prosecuted several men and discovered the following; large sub culture of interest in dog fighting fuelled by a network of literature reporting on a well organised tote, involving huge sums of money; meetings were carefully planned, with sometimes 100 attending in deserted areas. In this area these were co-ordinated at _________ with people being transported to the venue from there, after contacting vodaphone. The Police (not Nottinghamshire) had refused to investigate, saying they would have been aware if such meetings took place. A successful prosecution of men who networked and engaged in dog fighting around the UK took place, after the RSPCA investigation which was discrete and took two years.

viii Adults fear physical and spiritual retribution if they tell. They present as powerless against these forces.

ix Adults also corroborate the general description, but deny any child abuse or criminal acts.
Issues raised by Ritual Abuse Cases

Some of the issues which are usually raised are as follows:-

A. Where are bodies?

This has occupied a great deal of discussion. It is argued that if we were to interpret ritualistic abuse disclosures literally, there would be thousands of unsolved murder cases in the UK, sometimes which to any sensible person seems impossible. It also unfortunately is the issue which attracts the tabloids and those wishing to sensationalize the problem. We do not know the answer to this except to say that we are told by children and adults that there are animal and human killings. No bodies have been found in relation to the Broxtowe Case. We would suggest that various issues need to be considered.

2. The use of trickery drugs, distortions and to confuse the children e.g. young pigs would appear to a child to look like a baby.
B. Are prominent people involved? Is there a widespread sophisticated organization?

In the Broxtowe Case, similar to other ritual cases, this is raised and allegations are made, though clearly they cannot be substantiated. Our position is that in most large organised sexual abuse cases, there is cross class involvement. In the Brent Case, dustbin men, bus conductors, barristers and United Nations diplomats were charged. We do know that this is a consistent theme which clearly will have implications for investigation. It is
not as easy to investigate child abuse in families who are not already accustomed to Social Services scrutiny.

C. Is Therapy Causing this?

We believe that we have addressed this issue fully. It has no professional standing at all. In the Country Walk case in the USA the defence lawyers said that licking faeces off an adult's anus was clearly untrue and the therapists should have discounted it. Fortunately the jury did not.

D. The violent backlash to workers

Workers who become involved with these cases consistently have to deal not only with the difficulties of theirs and other agencies' responses, but also the attention of those in the occult world.
E. The involvement of Evangelists

Those dealing with Ritual Abuse cases tend to attract the interests of Evangelical Christians. Their sincere belief of course is that the child and workers are in spiritual danger, and that they need to respond to that. They also see these cases as evidence of what they have believed - the need for the Christian Church to concern itself with the fundamental issues of a battle between God and Satan. Team 4 and others in the Department have experienced this interest. Sincerely held views should be treated with respect and their very kind and real offers of help have been appropriately responded to. The reality too, is that historically they have been the only resource for survivors and have much information and many painful experiences to tell about supporting survivors without statutory help. However we have found the most appropriate and informative assistance has come from more mainstream clergy whose knowledge of the historical framework of Satanism and the way it is organised, has been most helpful.

We have no clear view of the phenomena as yet, except
that it involves the very real abuse and torture of children's bodies and minds. It appears to have connections with organised crime (pornography and drugs). We would acknowledge that this is a new area for Social Services and requires new skills for which we all need training.
CHAPTER SEVEN

The Rejection of the JET Report

1. It is Team 4's view that the Joint Enquiry Report should not simply be amended or amalgamated into something else, it should be rejected.

2. The Report quite clearly took the Department no further in understanding the issue of ritual abuse -

3. We believe that we have shown that it is so inaccurate as to render it worthless.

4. The Report was biased and unprofessional.

5. The Report's conclusions, founded on inaccuracies were supported by omitting vital pieces of material. Nor was there any serious analysis of the phenomenon of ritual abuse within a context of our knowledge of sexual abuse; there was no analysis of the acknowledged difficulties of working together between Police and Social Services; there was no discussion of the different standards of
proof and the implications for the abuse of children.

6. **Factual information** was omitted - an interview with an independent adult corroborating satanic activity in caves and tunnels in Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, relevant tunnels which do exist are not referred to; investigations outstanding at the end of the first investigation are not included; They omitted to talk to the foster parents and social workers; they have omitted the differing views of consultants noted on the file.

7. These inaccuracies and omissions together with gross assumptions formed the cornerstones of their argument. It is completely discredited and flawed.

They assumed:

a. that RW handed the indicators to the foster parents - he did not

b. they assumed that [redacted] received a therapy at the NSPCC which was different to any other child being seen there and thus ritual disclosures - it did not, was managed and supervised separately and came to similar conclusions
c. they assumed that the work with involved using the same material as the NSPCC used - thus leading to believe through this therapy that had been abused ritualistically. This is incorrect - no play material of that nature was used -

d. they assumed that the cousins were subsequently contaminated to produce 'ritual' disclosures - this is inaccurate - they have never made allegations of this nature

e. they assumed that the work of the Americans was highly influential. This is untrue - no American indicators were received until Autumn 1988 - the Team did not meet any Americans and start reading the literature until 1989

f. they have assumed the style of work with in itself was taken out of context was used with all the children - it was not

g. they have assumed that the psychological disturbance of a disturbed 3 year old has not been taken into account. It was

h. they assume that only 4 children in two homes disclose and that these have been used selectively. This is untrue as our analysis shows. They state that ritual and extra family disclosures only appeared after the involvement of RW. This is untrue as an analysis shows
i. they assume that workers on Team 4 were so easily manipulated that they could be 'taken in' by clients and 'self-appointed' experts.

Our discussions show this is factually inaccurate.

The JET report goes further:

1. There is no empirical evidence of ritual abuse in the Broxtowe Case - we have we believe shown that the basis on which they reached this position is totally flawed. They go on further to make the extravagant claim that they doubt its existence anywhere, based on their 'research'. We have shown that there is no foundation for this view which is based on a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of ritual abuse, omission of vital material, lack of understanding of different standards of proof and biased research.

2. That workers become engaged in a witch hunt fuelled by a fixed belief system. This is without foundation, there is no written or verbal evidence to support the view that any members of Team 4 had a fixed belief system, except to say that the children were describing what for them was a real experience. There is no evidence of a 'witch hunt' involving innocent families - all the families were referred to the Police according to procedures on the basis of suspicion which is our proper duty; no children were examined or interviewed on the basis of the 'ritual evidence' neither were any removed except for suspicion of sexual abuse and neglect, which was in the majority of cases proved.
The Effects of the JET Report
CHAPTER EIGHT

Conclusions and Expectations

1. The Team 4 position is that there is no evidence that the disclosures of the children in the Broxtowe Case were created by social workers. Indeed it is a clear example of the new phenomena which is currently known as ritual abuse. This involves the gross abuse of children and adults, sexually and physically, and the use of a belief in a power to intimidate further.

2. Team 4 do not believe in this power, but they do believe in the ability of unscrupulous people to exert an earthly power over vulnerable children and adults, through threats, implication in crimes and trickery, so that they can be further abused. On the basis of what we have seen we have no hesitation in saying that this is a form of torture which requires similar interventions to those needed by Holocaust victims, or victims of barbaric regimes.

3. We have no evidence yet of an epidemic, but we do believe that this sort of abuse is very appealing to paedophiles, who already have sophisticated networking systems, and that also has attractions for those involved in criminal activities such as drug abuse and pornography. We do not know how far there are connections, if any, with 'snuff videos'.

4. There is much to learn about this type of abuse, which can only be done in the normal professional way, through conferences, sharing and writing up cases and engaging in professional discussion. There are few experts, but there are those with some experience which it is important to share. We believe that this should occur in the general
context of Child Protection. There are many, including the Department of Health, various social services departments, voluntary agencies and Police authorities, who have been eager to learn from Team 4's experiences.
Proposals

The Way Forward
The therapeutic needs of the child - an extra dimension
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